

**An Ethnography of Bogotá's Ecobarrios: The Construction of Place-based
Eco-political Subjects, Subjectivities and Identities**

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**Thesis submitted to University College London for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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2017

Declaration of Authorship

I, Aura Tatiana Ome Baron, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

*To my supervisors and parents whose unconditional support has brought this ethnography
into being and to Maria del Pilar Tejada whose departure moved me deeply and gave me
strength to complete it*

Abstract

In the current global ecological crisis, environmental principles have become increasingly mainstreamed in urban politics and governance and in claim-making processes across many cities in the global south. From an urban anthropology perspective, this involves interrogating how diverse actors use environmentalisms in order to generate (or not), what many define as alternative urban development trajectories that take nature into account. Inspired by this strand of work, this thesis examines how the search for such alternative trajectories impacts upon the construction of new ecological and political subjects, subjectivities and identities based on place in these times of change.

As an anthropologist interested in cities, I offer here an ethnographic account of how the notion of Ecobarrios has opened different paths, in the construction of eco-political subjects in Bogotá. Ecobarrios emerged as an institutional programme, which was implemented by the Mayor's Office between 2001 and 2003. It was later (2009) adopted as a local initiative by the dwellers of El Triángulo in the eastern hills of the city; as a "resistance strategy" to avoid eviction and as a means to improve their living conditions.

Following the different trajectories of these two attempts to articulate the notion of Ecobarrios to processes shaping urban life and territories in Bogotá. This thesis examines how the emergence of eco-political subjects either reproduced or challenged micro-political dynamics (of and from place) and how it gave rise to changes as well as transformations in urban planning. Conceptually and methodologically, the analysis fosters a debate about the scope, capacity as well as limitations of anthropology and ethnography in advancing our understanding of how different environmentalisms are pursued through urban planning processes and grassroots initiatives and with what consequences.

Acknowledgments

I would love to say thanks to all of those who contributed to the development of this ethnography. Unfortunately, due to limited space I'm not going to be able to make it. So my apologies go to those who probably will be omitted.

First of all I want to express my infinite gratitude to my principal and secondary supervisors Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila. Thank you both for believing in me, for supporting me and guiding me the way you did. Also for your really insightful comments and suggestions that enlightened me during all this process. This achievement never would have been possible without your companionship and understanding.

For my parents I don't have words just love, I'm what I am because of both of you. I just feel Infinite gratitude with both of you for being the biggest support that I ever had. Thank you for teaching me through your example that everything is possible in life with a good heart and that there are no limits to make dreams come true.

Needless to say, this ethnography would not have been possible without the immense generosity and patience of all those who made part of my fieldwork. My most sincere gratitude goes to the people of Lombardía, Triángulo Alto, Triángulo Bajo, Manantial and Corinto neighbourhoods, government officials and professionals, for all their support, for sharing their experiences, knowledge and reflections and for allowing me to be part of their lives for a while. I would also like to thank DPU professors Rita Lambert and Alexandre Frediani, for having had the honour to have you in Bogotá receiving all your insightful comments in the field; and for giving me the opportunity to publish a paper with both of you and Adriana Allen from this experience. To my research assistants, Sergio Ramírez and Manuel Lozano, thank you both for your reflections and companionship that were crucial for the development of this stage.

This thesis would not have been possible either without the financial support of COLCIENCIAS, Colfuturo and UCL. Thank you very much for believing in this project and supporting me. I'm grateful too to Monika Therrien and Erigaie Foundation for all the academic and logistical support throughout this process, especially during the fieldwork.

In addition to the above, there is a more personal group of people to be thanked. Thanks to Stephanie Butcher, Alix Valenti, Eugenia de Diego, Gynna Millan, Juliana Hoyos, Ana Maria Huaita and Julia Wesley for being my soul sisters in London, each of you have a unique place in my heart. Thanks to my PhD colleagues and DPU friends specially Christine Oram,

Hector Becerril, Cristian Olmos and Matt Wood-hill, for your unconditional support and wise advice. Thanks to Carlos del Cairo, Carolina Buitrago, Maria Paula Chaparro, Laura Rodriguez, Natalia Becerra, Laura Pinzon and Natalia Lozada for your unconditional support at key moments of this process. Special thanks to my sister Juanita and to Conchita for always being there for me with all your love.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACCD	Agencia Catalana de Cooperación Internacional (Catalan Agency of International Cooperation)
CAOS	Centre for the Anthropology of Sustainability
CAR	Corporación Autónoma Regional (Regional Autonomous Corporation)
CBOs	Community based organisations
CIDER	Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo (Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies on Development)
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Centre of Research and Popular Education)
CLACSO	Consejo Latino Americano de Ciencias Sociales (Latin American Council of Social Sciences)
CVP	Caja de Vivienda Popular (Popular Housing Fund)
DA	Discourse Analysis
DAACD	Departamento Administrativo de Acción Comunal Distrital (Administration Department of District Community Action)
DAMA	Departamento Administrativo del Medio Ambiente (Administration Department of Environment)
DAPD	Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital (Administration Department of District Planning)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ESPERE	Escuelas del Perdón y la Reconciliación (Schools of Forgiveness and Reconciliation)
FOPAE	Fondo de Prevención y Atención de Emergencias (Fund for the Prevention and the Attention of Emergencies)
IDEAM	Instituto de Meteorología y Estudios Ambientales (Institute of Meteorology and Environmental Studies)
IDIGER	Instituto Distrital de Gestión de Riesgos y Cambio Climático (District Institute of Risk Management and Climate Change)
IDPAC	Instituto Distrital de la Participación y Acción Comunal (District Institute of Participation and Community Action)
IDRD	Instituto Distrital de Recreación y Deporte (District Institute of Sports and Recreation)
IDU	Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano (Institute of Urban Development)
JAC	Junta de Acción Comunal (Comunal Action Board)
NPM	New Public Management

PC	Personal communication
POT	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (Urban Development Plan)
OSP	Obras con saldo Pedagógico (Works yielding Pedagogical Balance)
SA	Spatial Analysis
TDs	Transition discourses
UA	Urban anthropology
UEA	Urban Ethnographic Approach
UN	United Nations
UPE	Urban Political Ecology
UPZ	Unidades de Planeamiento Zonal (Zonal Planning Units)

Introduction

The Life Story of my Ethnography

Suffering from a bad case of writer's block, I have decided to start my PhD dissertation by narrating my project's 'life story'. I think that the journey we are about to start can be made more interesting by using ethnography (ethnography is the particular type of text that results from the application of the ethnographic method). I will approach this daunting task through ethnography in an attempt to account for the work I've dedicated myself to over the last few years. For me, this thesis is not just the outcome of an academic process but also of an entire beautiful process of life. I will try to use simple language that can be accessible to any reader so that this is enjoyable to read.

I was born in Venezuela but have Colombian nationality. By profession, I am an anthropologist and archaeologist and in 2008 I decided to start my PhD journey. I chose to pursue my doctoral studies in the field of development planning because my academic experience and applied work as a practitioner had always made me think about how anthropology could make contributions to this field from a critical perspective. So I started to investigate issues that were not only of interest to me but to my city as well, because I knew I wanted to continue working at the urban level.

Since completing my undergraduate studies, I've been involved in different lines of research on Bogotá. In fact, my master's thesis was on historical archaeology in Bogotá between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. My professional life also involved working with the city's Mayor and different government entities associated with public policies at the national level that connected to the urban scale.

In 2009, while working on one of the aforementioned projects and with my first inquiries into the subject of my thesis, I met a community leader named Hector Álvarez¹ (photo 1). He was working as a researcher for the Centre of Research and Popular Education (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular - CINEP²) and during our conversations he told me about "his struggle". He said that he was living in a poor neighbourhood where the community had been designing and implementing the Ecobarrios programme as a local development alternative (in their own words).

¹ Regarding peoples names it is important to clarify that they allowed me to use their real names. Nevertheless, in some cases they asked me to omit their surnames.

² CINEP is a Jesuit NGO with a long trajectory working on pacification and consolidation of the territory.

Photo 1. Hector Álvarez³
Source: personal file Ome 2009



The area he referred to was El Triángulo located in the locality of San Cristóbal in the eastern hills of Bogotá and made up of four neighbourhoods: Triángulo Bajo, Triángulo Alto, Manantial and Corinto. In 2009, this territory (also part of the city's forest reserve zone) was designated as an area of 'unmitigable high risk', a decision that, in turn, exposed local residents to the threat of eviction and opened negotiations for their relocation through a municipal resettlement programme. It was at that point that people from Manantial, Triángulo Bajo and Triángulo Alto adopted 'Ecobarrios' (ecological neighbourhoods) arguments (discourses) and actions (practices) as a "local resistance strategy" (in their own words) to prevent being displaced and resettled and to improve their living conditions if they are allowed to stay. Corinto on the other hand was completely resettled between 2009 and 2012.

Residents decided to implement Ecobarrios because most of them did not believe that the entire area was at high risk. A geological study, funded by CINEP, and their local knowledge led them to this conclusion. Their quest to become an Ecobarrio was also driven by the fact that they did not want to leave the territory where they and their ancestors had inhabited for nearly 100 years (according to them). Finally, they learnt from those relocated from Corinto, that the living conditions in the resettlement area were bad with tiny and often overcrowded housing facilities, higher water and electricity costs, and lack of green areas like the forest they enjoyed in El Triángulo.

Dwellers of these neighbourhoods defined an Ecobarrio as:

"...a group or community with a long term vision that organises itself in order to improve their quality of life and achieve social and environmental welfare in a sustainable urban context...these neighbourhoods and territories should be based

³ All the photos of this thesis were included with the authorization of the people that appear on them.

on social relations that acknowledge diversity, sustainable use of renewable energies, development of harmonic relations between citizens and nature...”
(Álvarez 2010:15⁴)

Later, as my intention to understand what an Ecobarrio meant in El Triángulo was starting to grow, I met some academics and institutional employees that were working in the area and they told me that I should not invest my time into studying this area as it was a “lost cause”. These were the magical words that made me decide to pursue my doctoral research on this topic. I wanted to understand why they labelled it as a “lost cause”.

I started working in the area using an ethnographic approach and searched for information about the case. Firstly I realised that there were no complete studies about this topic on that area; only a few theses looked at this case and its discourses as an alternative to development in the eastern hills of the city (Rico 2010; Rangel 2013) but none of them from an anthropological perspective. Secondly, I found that although a municipal programme called Ecobarrios had been implemented between 2001 and 2003 in Bogotá, the area of El Triángulo had not been included in this programme because it was composed by informal settlements.

Searching further, I managed to obtain the contact details of the two people that had designed and implemented the municipal Ecobarrios Programme: Carlos Rojas – architect and planner; and Ana María Aristizabal – biologist and economist (photo 2).

Photo 2. Ana María Aristizabal and Carlos Rojas
Source: personal file Ome 2012



They soon agreed to meet me and explained that Ecobarrios was implemented during Mayor Antanas Mockus’ second administration between 2001 and 2003 under the slogan ‘building an ecological city from within’. It used a dragonfly as a symbol. The programme’s objective was:

⁴ All quotes from references in Spanish were translated by this paper’s author.

“...to strengthen the community based organisations and promote their role as agents for integrated development of our city... and to implement a culture based on sustainable and integrated development at the individual, community and neighbourhood level” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2003:3)

Referring to programme documents, they explained that Ecobarrios was inspired by eco-village and deep ecology⁵ perspectives and hence defined an Ecobarrio as:

“...a group or community with a long term vision that organises itself in order to improve their quality of life and achieve social and environmental welfare in a sustainable urban context...” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2003: 2)

Contrasting the above definition with what local residents in El Triángulo identify as an Ecobarrio reveals that they share their understanding of the programme's meaning, albeit they used it under different circumstances.

Ana and Carlos also explained to me that the programme promoted four dimensions of development: the social; the economic; the spiritual (then transformed to human); and the environmental. All of these dimensions are represented by the wings of the dragonfly. Therefore, the community needs to work on all of them in order to fly and develop.

When the municipal programme ended in 2004, 143 neighbourhoods throughout the city were participating. I asked Ana and Carlos if they knew what had happened in these neighbourhoods after the programme finished and they told me in 2009, to their knowledge, the process was continued for another year. Given that they did not have much information about it, they gave me a database with details from all community leaders to contact them and a ranking they had compiled of the 10 most and least active neighbourhoods⁶. My research began at that moment; I started calling these leaders and revising the programme's documents. I quickly found out that most of the people had moved or were not willing to talk because they did not have time, they did not know me etc. The only leader that had participated in the programme and was willing to meet me was Fanny Piña, who was still the president of the Communal Action Board (Junta de Acción Comunal - JAC) of the Lombardía neighbourhood and was still actively pursuing Ecobarrios projects with her community. Thus in August 2009, I met her for the first time and we had our first talk about her experience with Ecobarrios (photo 3).

⁵ Deep ecology is a holistic approach that considers humans no more important than other species. Hence, it promotes a readjustment of human – nature relationships, taking into account spirituality and action (Register 2002). I will unpack this definition in chapter 3.

⁶ .

Photo 3. Fanny Piña, Tatiana Ome and Susana Muhamad
Source: personal file Ome 2009



I also decided to have a look at the institutional archives regarding these neighbourhoods. I went to the District Institute of Participation and Community Action (Instituto Distrital de la Participación y Acción Comunal - IDPAC) and they told me that since Lombardía was ranked as one of the most active neighbourhoods in the city, they only kept their Ecobarrios files. The documents from other neighbourhoods had been lost in a storage warehouse or were not classified and I was not allowed to see them.

Then, I decided to include Lombardía as one of my case studies to contrast it with Triángulo's case and analyse how each defined, appropriated and developed Ecobarrios discourses and practices.

The problem and objective of this ethnography

Over the last two decades, environmental principles have become increasingly mainstreamed in urban politics, governance, processes and projects of the global south through initiatives concerned with eco-city planning. In this project eco-city is defined as an ecosystem approach⁷ influenced by mainly environmental and sustainability principles. Within this framework, cities should be planned and developed to be pleasant, participatory and healthy 'green' places to live. This type of planning will be addressed in the next chapter where I present the theoretical framework that informs my analysis. Also, these environmental principles have become relevant in claim-making processes by urban social movements across the global south.

⁷ The central principles of this approach are the acceptance of human dependence on and responsibility for nature and the recognition that social and ecological goals are interdependent (Register 2002).

Anthropology has turned its attention to this situation, and reflections have focussed on understanding this transitional moment for humanity. One of the topics that have been attracting the attention of development and urban anthropology is the analysis of the consequences of environmentalism⁸ and its representations at a city level. Anthropologists like me have been interested in understanding how new multiple linked relations between development, power, culture, nature, subjects, identity, knowledge, space, place and social actors are emerging in this – global and local – ‘urban green scenario’. Which involves interrogating how diverse actors use environmentalisms in order to generate (or not) what many define as alternative urban development trajectories that take nature into account. Hence, the study of these trajectories will allow having a better understanding of the dynamics related to the development of urban environmental politics and governance. This is also an interesting topic, which at the moment is beginning to be studied more, in order to understand how it is providing the fusion between the social and natural aspects in the process of city development.

In my case, this trend woke up a desire to understand how and why Bogotá and its inhabitants developed different initiatives to pursue the construction of Ecobarrios. Although the two initiatives examined in this thesis make reference to the same notion and principles, they have emerged from different institutional and local scenarios and were also associated with diverse environmental social processes that were being managed by the city authorities. Hence, I decided to examine how the search for such alternative trajectories impacts upon the construction of new ecological and political subjects, subjectivities and identities based on place in these times of change.

In recent years, debates in international academic scenarios, has created the need for anthropologists (as well as other social scientists) to continue diving into issues associated with environmentalism an issue relatively neglected in the past. For example, the need to revisit the cultural dimension and its connection to the economic, political and all other factors of social life and not treat it as something alien. This in a context where it is appropriate to return to contextualisations (even radical for some) to avoid the depoliticisation of culture and place. So we can go back to listening to what social movements, social and political organisations, universities and other forms of knowledge production have to say, in order to understand what they demand, why and what effects it has on subjects and identities construction. The above are part of what is called ‘politics of

⁸ I will define this category in chapter 1. I will do the same with the rest of the conceptual categories of the introduction because here is only a general explanation of what I’m going to present in my ethnography. Then in my theoretical and analytical framework I will unpack and contextualise these categories.

place' and urban environmental politics and governance (subjects that are further examined in the theoretical framework). Hence, it is also important to take into account what is being built with instruments such as policies, plans and programmes to be able to understand the overall scenario and what the various actors express, promote, implement and claim (CLACSO 2014; García 2014)

Another important issue for anthropologists and urban researchers nowadays, associated with the rise of environmentalism in urban planning, politics and governance concerns the varied perceptions on the relationship between nature and culture in rural and urban contexts. Also the emergence of the environment as a dimension of importance in the field of public policy, city planning and in contemporary conflicts involving occupations and uses of territory by popular sectors. Issues that also end up being connected with the reflection on the 'greening' of social relations and practices through reflections such as:

"What are the translations of nature that achieve social recognition and why? How is it possible to interpret the emergence of innovative environmental rhetorics in certain social conflicts? What can anthropology contribute to the conceptualisation of nature as a subject of law? How people define nature?" (Garlbusky 2014:1)

In this scenario, anthropologists consider other issues to further deepen their knowledge: the relationship between discursive and practical categories such as development, culture, power, nature, etc., intersections between local and institutional levels and the continued construction of subjects and identities now under the cloak of environmentalism. Hence, another proposal is to focus on the processes that influence construction of subjects with determined identities through the implementation of public policies, plans and programmes. This includes contestation and resistance processes where subjects are also constructed such as collectives (like in social movements and organisations) and identities. This stems from taking into account arguments that regard identity in itself is a constitutive element of the definition of modern subjects, which is influenced by State's discursive practices and, at the same time, contested and re-constructed through people's actions and traditional knowledge (Bolívar 2006; Leff 2010).

"...rather than celebrating prevalence of identity as I, or the alleged reemergence of some identity forms as We, it is necessary to question how they are articulated and why certain types of We are strengthened, what relationships exist between some of those We identities and power and inequality dynamics where those identifications arise... It is necessary to examine how identities come into being, how they are imposed, who participates, with what means and in what historical contexts." (Bolívar 2006:35)

Hence, there has been renewed interest in understanding these processes in place making contexts, taking into account the various connections between subjects, their identities and places. The latter processes are associated with the local, with the scenarios of politics of place, where global, regional and local dynamics converge and alternatives to development arise by the people who inhabit them. These alternatives are based on conceptions, representations and particular discursive practices (traditional and cultural) on nature and its association with territory (as it is known in Latin America context). This has been studied in more depth at the rural level and is now used for urban analysis because anthropologists, historians and geographers are interested in the city as one of those historically 'favourite' scenario (or acquired forms of settlement) to be inhabited by people today (Escobar 2000 and 2001).

In this context, anthropologists and social scientists consider that critical assessments often have shortcomings with regards to: 1) analysing the dynamics that foster emergence of these ecological initiatives and their consequences on the place-based subject and identity construction that take into account institutional mechanisms (such as plans and programmes) and local strategies (social movements and processes); 2) the understanding of opportunities that place-based local strategies and conflicts offer to redefine power and become alternatives to development and planning; and 3) understand how the two previous points account for the dynamics that feed the development of urban environmental politics and governance.

Following the above considerations, I decided that the overall objective of this thesis would be to analyse the construction process of eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities through the production of place embedded under the notion of Ecobarrios (both as a district institutional programme and a local resistance strategy – or local development alternative).

I wanted to understand what happened when part of the city becomes identified as an Ecobarrio, both discursively and in practical terms. Did Ecobarrios give birth to place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities? Did government officials and ordinary citizens' discourse materialise through concrete practices? Did all these discursive and practical dynamics under the Ecobarrios label trigger some transformations and contribute to the development of social changes (i.e. at the level of places of contestation and/or of urban planning)?"

I pursued two specific objectives:

- 1) To identify the discourses and practices associated with production trajectories of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities, as part of the city's institutional programme as well as a "local resistance strategy", to understand why and how they arise.
- 2) To explore what happens when these discursive and practical initiatives are applied in everyday life and their implementation takes different paths or sub-trajectories.

Hence, this ethnography aimed to understand how and why these institutional and local place-based trajectories of the eco-political subject projects emerged and activated rather than analyse and defend their impacts (which could be more intuitive). I also tried to understand how these projects of eco-political subjects and identities developed and travelled, became individual and collective (or not) and if people appropriated them or not as part of their daily life where the politics of place occurs. Furthermore, my research examined how the notion of Ecobarrios had been simultaneously deployed as a means to re-imagine the city through both institutional and everyday practices. Such exploration was investigated for its consequences on planning and understanding in terms of politics of place.

It is important to clarify that this was not a white and black linear scenario. There were encounters and disencounters as part of the development of these not neat and entangled trajectories and sub-trajectories/sub-paths or ramifications (individual and collective) related with the complex construction of subjects and identities as part of Ecobarrios journeys.

Consequently, one part of the analysis focuses on how eco-political subjects and identities are created through urban planning processes and interventions such as the Ecobarrios programme, related with the political and ideological (global) dimension. Therefore, discursive analysis was necessary to discern the type of planning hybrid that this project represented⁹. Was it an eco-city initiative? Did other planning perspectives influence it? Which? An ethnographic approach addressed these questions to demonstrate that beyond documents, Ecobarrios discourse and public history were also built based on planners' representations and meanings; that beyond documents urban planning is influenced by the particular lives of the people behind the label of planners.

Understanding the two construction paths of eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities that are generated by the notion of Ecobarrios through an institutional programme and a grassroots local initiative constituted the other and main part of the analysis. This

⁹ By planning hybrid I mean that this is a project with influences from different planning approaches. I will explain this better in the next chapter.

implied understanding how these arose and what was behind these trajectories; what they promote through their discourses and practices and how people appropriated, applied, used or rejected these discursive practices in their daily life. Also, exploring what factors affected their place-making processes and generated changes (i.e. re-signifying their practices and discourses) or permanencies (avoiding change) became significant. This is also in order to understand how environmental politics and governance are being developed and what characterises them in cities like Bogotá.

The aforementioned analysis was developed within the realm of urban anthropology and a post-structuralist approach (with influences from interpretativism and actor oriented theory). The definition and explanation of this perspective will be provided in the theoretical framework of this ethnography.

Why is this urban ethnography relevant?

In the last few years, it has been argued that further develop thinking regarding the definition and analysis of urban development, politics and governance and its relations with environmentalism from a social and cultural perspective is necessary (in the last Stockholm Memorandum in 2011, as well as in other academic settings around the world, in Latin America and specifically in Colombia). Taking this into account, and my own personal interests, the following are some important considerations related to the relevance of this study. Firstly, there is a need in urban studies (urban anthropology, urban political ecology, etc.) to research and analyse the social and cultural dimensions of environmentalism and the consequences for certain types of planning as well as in the construction of place-based subjects, subjectivities and identities. This occurs, because humanity faces a transition period, where change towards a new more ecological and spiritual paradigm is evident, or at least it is claimed¹⁰. It is one where city transformation and our way of thinking/feeling¹¹ and live in them and on the planet will play a key role. Consequently, if we are interested in or want to contribute to this process, we must first understand it (Escobar 2014a and b; Shiva 2015). Secondly, it is important to remember how the anthropological perspective could also be useful for the design, implementation and evaluation of urban planning programmes, policies and plans in this context. This in Latin America, in countries

¹⁰ This desire materialises through proposals by rural and urban social movements and processes that according to their leaders offer alternatives to development. Alternatives that for authors such as Latour, Escobar, Maturana, Varela (all cited in Escobar 2014a) are built based on pluriverses (that propose different forms of living, feeling, perceiving and thinking the world) and distinct relational ontologies (connected – without dichotomies between spiritual and scientific approaches) that are different to those championed by modernity (disconnected –dichotomies between spiritual and scientific approaches), making use of what they have called transition discourses (from the paradigm of the universe to the pluriverses).

¹¹ Thinking/feeling (or *sentipensar* in Spanish) with the earth and the territory means to learn how to live and think from the heart and the mind (Escobar 2014a).

like Colombia, is not yet clear for the diverse actors (public and private sector and even academia) because some of them still underestimate the importance of the social and cultural dimensions for the development of urban politics and governance.

Thirdly, this study represents an initial attempt to analyse and compare different Ecobarrios institutional and local initiatives since their inception in 2001 and 2009, with a specific emphasis on the social and cultural dimensions of these actions. This ethnography examines representations, perceptions and narratives of the people that are part of these stories, the human beings behind the labels of 'government official', 'community leader' or 'member of a community'. This provides an understanding of how and why these two initiatives emerged and the processes, dynamics, discourses and practices behind these Ecobarrios trajectories. This type of research on Ecobarrios initiatives has not been undertaken before and has an empirical value not just in Bogotá but also in other contexts like Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Cape Town, London and Australia where the notion of Ecobarrios is being used by planners and grassroots actors to forge new transitional alternatives to development. Alternatives that are based on different relationships with nature, hence, they can foster the development of new trajectories of urban environmental politics and governance.

In the case of Bogotá, the results of this research are of interest to neighbourhood leaders in the eastern hills, including Hector (a key protagonist in one of my case studies), as well as district officials and academics because due to the work of social organisations in the city Ecobarrios was included in the city's 2012 - 2016 Development Plan titled "Human Bogotá". Government officials and researchers might also be interested in the results of this research because it offers an exploration of the dynamics that are emerging behind urban environmental politics and governance in the city (for instance related with subject formation in all their complexity).

A fourth consideration is that this research presents a general reflexive overview of a process that is still under construction, from an anthropological perspective; it could be used as a framework for future studies that aim to engage in a more in-depth analysis of topics such as Ecobarrios, place-making, subjects, identities, urban social processes and even the case studies that I presented.

Also, a fifth consideration is that the present study was used as a pilot project to create a new line of research in the area of 'City and Development' at the Erigaie Foundation where I am an associate researcher in Bogotá. Erigaie Foundation is a research centre that

conducts and supports research on issues related to culture, environmental conservation, community development and urban spaces and representations.

Finally, it is important to state that this study supports my own professional development as an anthropologist who wants to work in urban development because it made it possible for me to develop, or adjust, analytical and methodological anthropological tools through a reflexive and critical process of theoretical practice itself (Aguilar 2003). Through my research I had the opportunity to explore the intellectually productive interfaces that can be pursued through the application of an anthropological perspective to urban development planning studies.

The pieces of this ethnography

This ethnography is structured in seven chapters. In the first one I present the theoretical framework that underpins my research. In the first section I explore the relevance of examining the emergence of 'Ecobarrios' in light of the influence of different forms of environmentalisms converging in recent years in the making of Latin American cities. Furthermore, I explain the potential contribution of adopting an Urban Anthropology (UA) perspective, particularly from a post-structuralist and Urban Political Ecology (UPE) viewpoint. In the second section, I will explain how these frameworks allow an understanding of issues such as the construction process of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities in urban scenarios, their politics and governance, influenced by environmentalisms. Then, I will highlight the importance of considering that the latter process emerges and is explained as part of complex dynamics of micro-politics of and from place, associated with the local scale and everyday life and its connections and disconnections with other levels such as the institutional. Finally, I will define and outline how I applied analytical tools such as eco-governmentality that allowed me to analyse the rise and development of these two processes that had the label of Ecobarrios, and how they produce, or not, place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities.

Chapter 2 introduces the methodology applied in order to collect and analyse data from an urban ethnographic perspective. Further and more specific methodological considerations are presented in each analytical chapter. This chapter explains the importance of ethnography as a method to analyse and interpret connections between different scales or levels (local, institutional, urban, national, regional and global). Here, I explain the techniques that I use as part of my ethnography including historical contextualisation, participant observation, life stories, ethnographic interviews and participatory cartography. Also, I explain the analytical and interpretative methods - discursive and spatial analysis -

that I applied to develop a process of triangulation of the collected information. These methodological and analytical tools were applied to each of my cases to understand how and why the pathways related to the process of building place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities occurred and the extent to which it was carried out or not and whether it was appropriated by people in their everyday lives.

In chapter 3 and 4, I built upon my previous discussion on how planning theory travels (Robinson and Parnell 2011) and examine the Ecobarrios programme as an example of what I have called 'planning hybrid'. In chapter 3, in order to reflect on the construction of institutional, public and planning discourses and their discursive categories, a number of historical sources, identified throughout the research, are presented and analysed through discourse analysis. The discussion examines the representations of the ecological and political conceived by planners in regard to the construction of place-based subjects, subjectivities and identities. In chapter 4, the analysis offers new insights into Ecobarrios' public history drawing not just from public documents but also from the cultural representations, meanings and narratives of the institutional actors involved in the design and implementation of this programme. In sum, these chapters explore through an ethnographic approach the connections and disconnections between the official and unofficial history of Ecobarrios in order to understand how and why there was a specific proposal by this programme for the construction of eco-political subjects in Bogotá. These chapters also explore the dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance in the city that underpin the different trajectories of Ecobarrios.

In chapter 5, after I understood what the programme Ecobarrios had 'said' about the type of place-based eco-political subjects and subjectivities that could be constructed, I turned my attention to exploring what happened to this institutional pathway generated in an institutional scale but applied at a local level. This chapter focuses on the case study of Lombardía, one of the neighbourhoods that formed part of the municipal Ecobarrios programme. I developed a discursive and spatial analysis based on data from ethnographic interviews, the life stories of Fanny (neighbourhood leader) and Karime (a young female member of Ecobarrios) and a sketch map exercise that I carried out with local people. This analysis aims to comprehend and contrast what was officially stated about the programme, what happened when it was put into practice, how it impacted on the daily lives of local dwellers at both individual and collective levels and at the level of the politics of and from place. In short, the analysis examines how the dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance are developed in theory and practice.

In chapter 6, I examine the path of Ecobarrios as a local initiative which starts with a discourse analysis as with the institutional programme. The focus of the analysis is on what was proposed, what discursive categories were used by this initiative in terms of the construction of place-based eco-political subjects and identities. Firstly, I re-construct the historical context of the case in order to understand how the selected neighbourhood in the south of the city was founded, who lives there, where residents arrived from (displacement, migrations), their cultural backgrounds, where this neighbourhood is located in Bogotá's urban planning map and other characteristics. This will be followed by a discursive analysis that examines different areas of evidence such as some documents from the community regarding the Ecobarrios proposal, ethnographic interviews with residents and the life history of Hector, a neighbourhood leader.

Chapter 7 explores the extent to which the inhabitants of Triángulo declare themselves eco-political subjects with an eco-political identity and how this materialises in their daily lives and in their place-based practices. The analysis draws on information collected through participant observation, ethnographic interviews, a mapping exercise that I implemented with the community through a workshop and Leonardo's life story, one of the oldest inhabitants in the area. This discussion sheds lights onto how and why Ecobarrios places in this neighbourhood are currently everyday contexts from where people protest against resettlement policies. This also shows how the dynamics associated with urban environmental politics and governance in the city are being developed from the perspective of place.

Finally, the conclusions will reflect on the following issues in order to close this journey: 1) based on the analysis of these two trajectories, where different actors encouraged the construction of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities, what reflections can be drawn regarding the current context of urban environmental politics and governance in settings such as Bogotá? 2) What kind of reflections on theoretical, methodological and analytical tools can be drawn from this research for the academia? Reflections that contribute to the development of future research in urban development and planning studies.

Chapter 1. Tracking Subjects, Subjectivities and Identities in the Eco-cities from an Anthropological Approach

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that underpins my research. In the first section I examine why it is relevant to deepen our understanding of the processes that take place in cities as different kinds of environmentalism are adopted to inform Ecobarrios strategies, both through institutional planning mechanisms and as a local strategy adopted by grassroots actors to defend their own territory. My framework stems from an Urban Anthropology (UA) viewpoint and combines elements of post-structuralism and Urban Political Ecology (UPE) perspectives. As discussed in the second section, the articulation of these perspectives is particularly productive for understanding the construction of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities within this urban scenario where environmentalisms are applied. Being a place-based construction process it is important to understand it as part of complex dynamics of micro-politics of and from place as explained in the third section. Within this framework, exploring this particular eco-political subjects and identities construction process entails employing a set of analytical tools provided by eco-governmentality as explained in the last section.

1.1 Ecobarrios from the urban anthropology (UA) lens

I started my journey exploring a polemical terrain within social sciences: UA. Due to diverse reasons, sociologists, geographers, urban planners and historians have questioned the legitimacy of its existence. Criticism commonly refers to UA's emergence and consolidation as a sub discipline in 1960¹², in a context where other social sciences such as sociology had already established a long trajectory studying the urban domain, and where globalisation dynamics render the specificity of this domain¹³ meaningless. Secondly, criticism targets concerns over UA sub-field's outputs, which are seen by other disciplines as having had relatively low impact on urban theory and urban public policy debates. With regard to methodology, limitations of ethnographic and participant observation methodologies - originally adopted in anthropological studies to provide an in-depth examination of 'villages' and 'isolated communities' - have been pointed out when applied to the far more fluid, complex and blurred urban context. For instance, its tendency to develop an '*anthropology in the city*', where the urban ghettos such as displaced farmers, ethnic minorities, marginalised populations and so on are the object of study and the city is just its scenario;

¹² Increased funding for development projects in places like Africa, Latin America and Asia and the USA's war on poverty encouraged growing interest in urban phenomena among anthropologists since 1960. Its background is linked to Manchester and Chicago Schools (Cucó 2004).

¹³ As global dynamics emerged, several disciplines started to favour this territory, leaving aside its importance and specificity of the urban (Fazio 2001).

or an '*anthropology of the city*' where the latter is the object of study (Low 1999; Cucó 2004; García 2005; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008).

'Prejudice' against UA is widespread in the literature and it is not my objective to go in depth into this debate. I just mentioned it in order to point out that since the last decade a group of anthropologists have been developing a counter-position that is helping to redefine the scope and relevance of UA. I used this background as a reference to position my study because I also wanted to take the challenge of exploring that counter-position. For these scholars, criticisms are not failures, but 'opportunity windows' or 'productive tensions' that shed light on epistemological and methodological problems of this sub-discipline. In other words, addressing such criticisms allows us to analyse urban daily life and its actors from a cultural and social perspective in the context of a globalised world¹⁴ (Low 1999; Cucó 2004; García 2005; García 2008; Salcedo y Zeiderman 2008; Pérez 2012). Therefore, as they argue, I will assume UA as an academic approach that reflects on the relation between anthropology and the cities, from the cultural and social perspective through the ethnographic study of the: "...discursive and material practices some of them inside the city while other ones outside" (Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008:73).

This approach goes beyond the idea of addressing the city as an object: either as a pre-existent spatial container where a variety of social processes and cultural practices take place, or as an object that is ontologically different from other spatial categories, and that can be classified in diverse types. An anthropological view of the city should not consider it as a pre-existing unique obvious static entity; instead, it should analyse how cities go through transformation as a result of urban processes and the actions of different actors. This implies taking into account the discourses and practices of *the* city and *in* the city, and understanding that cities are like 'relationship constellations'¹⁵ built through historical and discursive formations. These dynamics of the urban processes respond to specific governmental projects, technologies¹⁶ and planning strategies, which have specific discourses and practices that are appropriated or contested by active social actors. Regarding the social actors, it is important to mention that UA also implies a reflexive exercise since the anthropologist is part of these local and global urban contexts (Khek 2004; García 2005; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008).

¹⁴ This implies taking into account the connections and disconnections of global and local dynamics.

¹⁵ "These relationships respond to specific government projects that aim to generate specific dynamics and changing social practices and orders." (Salcedo y Zeiderman 2008: 94)

¹⁶ It is important to highlight that some anthropologists still believe and study the role of the State and its control mechanisms (Khek 2004)

In terms of contributions in an increasingly 'urban' world, some studies from this perspective aim to develop a cultural and social analysis that, from a critical and de-constructive perspective, questions the multiple meanings of development (as a historical discursive practice) and its discursive – material dynamics in relation to power, culture, knowledge, identity and place. This makes it necessary to take into account aspects such as knowledge production, decision-making processes and institutional mechanisms, from a macro and micro (local) scale perspective. Therefore, these studies have the potential to establish useful connections between the city's institutional and policy levels - where the socio-economic and ideological system is re-produced (macro level) - , and the everyday life (micro – people level) where discursive institutional practices are appropriated or contested through political-cultural discursive practices. Hence, hidden (intercultural) complex realities and alternatives are revealed through detailed tools - such as post-modern and auto-reflexive ethnographies –, which will be explained in chapter 2 (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Escobar 1999; Aguilar 2003; García 2005). These complex realities are also approached in articulation with other disciplines such as biology, ecology, geography and history, hence including other methodological tools - such as mapping- that contribute to the analysis (Low 1999; Signorelli 1999; Piffano 2002; Aguilar 2003; Cucó 2004; García 2005; Charry 2006; Salcedo y Zeiderman 2008; Pérez 2012)¹⁷.

Acknowledging the existence of debate and diversity within UA, a sample of other domains of inquiry in which UA is contributing but where critical assessment still lacks are: ethno-cartography, mapping knowledge, life stories of multiple actors (institutional employees, community leaders) and ethnographies of identities, institutions and organisations such as NGO's. Also the relationships between culture, nature, power, space, place, identity and knowledge; the understanding of social movements or processes as scenarios of power-culture relations and as knowledge producers (local knowledge as a place-based practice). This is related with spatial notions of culture(s), resistance and contestation practices and their relationship with institutional practices as part of the politics of/from place dynamics. Also the production of subjects, subjectivities and identities through discursive practices and power relations and the consequences of the implementation of municipal programmes in place-making processes and identity and subjectivity production. Identifying and socialising case studies that become examples of alternatives to development from the local level, where hybrid production of cultures, discourses, practices and identities takes place (dynamics between the local and global). Finally, the relations between nature-culture,

¹⁷ All this anthropological literature on the city has incorporated a number of paradigms and methodologies from other disciplines; influence of urban sociology, cultural geography, cultural studies, political economy, human ecology and architectural and planning theory is recognisable in increasing attention to discursive, political and economic approaches to the city (Low 1996 and 1999).

planning, development, environmentalism and cities (Escobar 1998a; Cucó 2005; Gupta and Ferguson 2008; Pérez 2012; Escobar 2014b).

Once I had this clear view of UA contributions and gaps, I was able to structure my research even better and to place it as part of the studies that could contribute to fill some of the gaps identified above, namely those associated with dynamics involved in the use of the environmentalisms in urban contexts, analysing interactions among the people who use, construct or de-construct them since this was being studied, but mostly in a rural context.

The current environmental and/or ecological movement rose in 1970, after publication of Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring"(1962), with a view to proposing a new ecological paradigm where new harmonic, binding relationships between humans and nature develop through awakening of environmental awareness (Escobar 1998b; Carrizosa 2000; Ulloa 2001). This philosophical, political, social, spiritual and global movement emerged in response to the ecological crisis caused by the capitalist system, modernity¹⁸ paradigm and an era of industrialisation, development processes and urbanisation.

From that moment, diverse environmentalisms¹⁹ have come into existence thanks to different actors, such as academics, ethnic groups, local populations, NGO's, activists, rural and urban social movements, government institutions and multinational corporations, who have developed and used distinct discourses and practices, and even theoretical perspectives on nature and environment. Although, in general, many agree that economic development is partially or totally responsible for the environmental crisis, not all environmentalists oppose economic growth; some might even be in favour because of the technological promises it carries. For example, while so called environmentalisms from developed nations have focussed on pollution and resources scarcity issues,

¹⁸ In this case, I will refer to modernity as conceived by Latin-American thinkers such as García (1990), Escobar (1996; 1999; 2001), Bolívar (2006) and Restrepo (2006). That is to say, as an epistemological and cultural configuration particular to the west, as a paradigm, a matrix that ends up shaping our reality and everyday life. Its discursive categories and practices, such as development, become natural for those immersed in it. Modernity is founded on democracy, market, order and rationality principles. Therefore, the modern world's four pillars are: the belief in science, the autonomy of the individual, naturalisation of economy and the belief in the existence of objective reality. This matrix features a distinctive dichotomous/separatist perspective where science, for example, is separate from spirituality.

"The world is made up of multiple varieties of modernity, resulting from infinite encounters between modernity and traditions. From now on, we are to focus on the existence of "hybrid", "local", "mutant", "alternative", or "multiple" 'modernities'. This is the post-structuralism position derived, to a great extent, from anthropology" (Escobar 2001:10).

¹⁹ There exist diverse types of classifications of environmentalisms depending on authors and philosophical positions such as industrial romanticism, spiritualism, new era, anti-modernity, social ecology, eco-feminism, radical social environmental movements, green policy, etc.; hence I will not examine this issue further given its great extension (Rojas 2001; Ulloa 2001; Martínez 2002). Nevertheless, I will refer to some of these taxonomies throughout the ethnography, by defining them within the context, since I consider that their sense can be better understood in the analysis.

'environmentalisms of the poor' have centred on economic, political and social aspects these situations have generated (Martínez 2002).

Environmentalisms do not produce an ecological consciousness that is common to all mankind:

"...instead they construct different theoretical, discursive and political strategies that incorporate the social actors' culturally shared meanings and motivations, which promotes global movements and local actions. This is because they exist as a result of environmental conflicts, which are derived from deforestation and urbanisation processes, as well as different ways of contamination and climate change effects; from resistance actions to neoliberal politics and the impact of mega-projects, from the assertion of worlds of life that function according to ecology, the appropriation of ethnic territories, biodiversity and new sustainable and productive strategies" (Leff 2010:35).

Environmentalism may be considered a new discursive formation, in Foucault's terms, that has produced a group of statements which provide a language to talk about the environment and nature at a particular historical moment. This language manifests in different practices and behaviours (recycling, green consumption, etc.), expert knowledge (social ecology, biodiversity, environment management, etc.), texts (information on global warming, biodiversity), technologies (GIS), policies (sustainable development, international agreements on biodiversity, etc.), objects (green products, eco art), representations (recycling symbols), subjects (ecological – pre industrial people in rural contexts and new ecological subjects in urban contexts) and identities (Mato 2000; Ulloa 2001).

Urban planning provides an example of how environmental discourses have permeated institutional discursive practices. In the last two decades environmental principles have become increasingly mainstreamed in urban politics, governance, processes and projects of the global south, through initiatives concerned with Eco-city planning. The concept of eco-city was first publicly used in 1987 by Richard Register (founder of the nonprofit organisation Urban Ecology in Berkeley) in order to name his book 'Eco-city Berkeley'. This was a visionary book about the possibility of re-building Berkeley following ecological principles. Nevertheless, the eco-city concept has been strongly influenced by other movements and paradigms such as social ecology, green movement, bioregionalism, sustainable development, spiritual ecology, and native worldviews (Roseland 1997; Register 2002; Aristizabal 2004; Acma 2005). That is why, rather than a rigid concept, the notion of eco-city has come to represent a goal and a direction for community development. While there is no single accepted definition of what an eco-city might be, the term is often used to refer to an eco-city viewpoint as a process that:

“...links ecological sustainability with social justice and the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods. It is a vision that acknowledges the ecological limits to growth, promotes ecological and cultural diversity and a vibrant community life, and supports a community-based sustainable economy that is directed toward fulfilling real human needs. Building eco-cities requires access to decision-making processes to ensure that economic and political institutions promote activities that are ecologically sustainable and socially just. It requires that these institutions respect our needs as whole human beings and citizens, not just as producers, consumers and voters.” (Roseland 1997:12)

In some cases, this vision has camouflaged neoliberal interests regarding access and reproduction of natural resources, as it articulates with market-led and neoliberal planning proposals²⁰ (Sigrist 2005). Meanwhile, other forms of environmentalism also concerned with the city are those that value local knowledge as a means to give voice to grassroots actors to advocate for the “life of the Pacha Mama” (Escobar 1999; Ulloa 2005b). This is how one of the social leaders I interviewed in Bogotá described the processes and local initiatives associated with the notion of Ecobarrios.

These processes and initiatives referred to by this social leader for the Ecobarrios topic are associated with what has been called urban environmental politics and governance. The former refers to the struggles between the different actors over meanings, practices of nature and the city that shape subjects and identities, that are materialised in the urban space. This implies that the socio-economic and political shifts and decisions have environmental dimensions and consequences that also generate social relations that are characterised by socio-environmental injustices (Groven 2009; Zimmer and Cornea 2016).

In this context, urban environmental governance is associated with relatively recent changes in the practical operation of the state and public sector, in this case related to the

²⁰ This in order to: control and reduce environmental problems such as global warming, biodiversity loss, non-renewable resources and rainforest depletion originated by development impacts (green agenda – Agenda 21 – related with the pursuit of sustainable development and the mitigation of global environmental problems); to mitigate the deterioration of local environmental aspects such as solid waste disposal, sanitation, air and water quality and to improve the living and place conditions of the inhabitants, communities and neighbourhoods such as access to services, housing, infrastructure of the urban spaces (greening) and health assistance particularly in the cities of the south (brown agenda – Habitat Agenda related to the deterioration of local environmental conditions) (Allen and You 2002; Allen 2005, 2009). The above two agendas are pursued through the development of policies, programmes and plans based on the idea of a balanced relationship between humans and nature.

The implementation of this vision has been different for each case (China, Canada, United States, India, Brazil, Spain, South Africa etc) : “In some cities, the ECOCITY ideas were directly integrated into the official municipal planning processes, while in others alternative plans were drawn up, which sparked new discussions and led to changes in the long run.” (Gafron, Huismans and Skala 2005:88) But also on the type of approach to develop this Eco-city that could be to build a new ecological and sustainable city from zero, like in the case planned for Caofeidian ecocity in China (Qiang 2009); or to create an urban regeneration for instance through programmes such as econeighbourhoods, the re-use of urban land and improvement of the existence structures like in the case of Barcelona – Econeighbourhood Trinita Nova (Gafron, Huismans and Skala 2005) and in this project’s case study in Bogotá - Colombia.

management, conservation of the environment and natural resources. Increasingly, state agencies:

“...have come to rely on actors outside the state in the process of developing, implementing, and legitimizing policy (e.g., Jessop, 1994; Gibbs and Jonas, 2000). The practices of government beyond the state create dense networks among state agencies, market institutions, and civil society that integrate these actors in the policy-making process (e.g., Rhodes, 1996). These networks also create the capacity to govern through the sharing of resources and information. I use ‘governance’ here, therefore, to refer to political technologies and strategies that produce efficient government through the creation of resource and capacity sharing networks that aim to widen participation in myriad processes of policy creation, enforcement, and legitimization.” (Grove 2009:209)

Urban environmental governance then faces the problems and dilemmas arising from the use, appropriation and conservation of natural resources. Such governance can be applied in different ways: as a process that takes place between private actors, where the public sector transfers its power to the private sector, leaving out civil society. Also as a process led by the public sector, involving various state actors and the private sector, excluding civil society. Finally, as a democratic and inclusive decision-making process, where all actors participate, including the sectors usually excluded (Hernández 2011). Hence, the development of this type of governance will depend on the specific characteristics of the particular context.

While looking into how issues regarding ways different forms of environmentalism are mobilised and pursued in the urban context, through the dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance, I came across different anthropologists and sociologists who had studied similar processes to those evident in my case studies. One commonality across these scholars was the adoption of a post-structuralist analytical perspective (Ulloa 2001; Cucó 2004; Gil 2005; Salazar 2007; Escobar 2008, 2014a and b; Leff 2010). This thesis also draws from such perspective as its aims to interpret and de-construct the discourses and practices that occur in the different trajectories pursuing ecobarrios examined in the following chapters.

Post-structuralism started to gain popularity in anthropological studies since 1980, pioneered by scholars such as Edward Said and Michael Foucault; nowadays it is still used by anthropologists like Arturo Escobar. Described as a social theory, post-structuralism acknowledges the importance of power, knowledge and discursive dynamics (discourse/language/representations) in the creation of social reality, the processes of social and cultural change and the study of culture. This set up a discursive constitution and historical localisation of subjectivity, identity and social reality and it does not deny the

importance of materiality and space and their direct relations with social and cultural representations. In anthropological terms, this implies treating language not as a reflection of reality but as its constituent, and addressing historical contextualisation of practices (collective and individual), social relations, and social and cultural representations (Escobar 1999; Restrepo 2006).

One of the main concerns of 'post-structural anthropology' is to study the relations between culture, social action and power, placing emphasis on the role played by knowledge and social dynamics and taking into account the relation between language and meaning (Escobar 1999). Furthermore, from this perspective, the interpretation²¹ of social process and everyday life should take into account the agency of the actors involved; that is their active role in a multicultural and diverse society. Further analytical dimensions privileged from this perspective concern the historical context and the study of dichotomies such as culture/nature, individuals/society, structures/action, objects/subjects as well as their co-production ²² (Foucault 1969, 1971; Escobar 1996).

The latter with the aim, for example, of understanding the process that unfolds in different identities and cultures in relation to diverse ways of knowledge, power and discursive practices. For this approach, human society develops as a social space (by means of its practices – decisions - and discourses) hence, the understanding of this phenomenon through ethnography and discursive analysis²³ allows the understanding of the relationship between social spaces and political (ideological), social, economic and environmental processes and practices. As other fields, debate and diversity are characteristics of post-structuralism, but I highlighted here just the ideas that are useful for my thesis.

The aforementioned perspective characterises the way in which anthropologists and sociologists alike approach the analysis of environmentalism as a discursive formation (in terms of Foucault) in the urban context. This approach is concerned with the study of new forms of governance and political spatialities; sustainable development policies; social

²¹Post-structuralism applies an interpretive perspective. This is an epistemological approach that believes that an interpretation, not an explanation of social phenomena should be made: "The term subsumes the views of writers who have been critical of the application of the scientific model to the study of the social world..." (Bryman 2004:15). This means that, while in natural sciences researchers have to deal with facts, in social science they have to deal with meanings because social reality and cultural expressions have different meanings for actors and that is why social researchers have to use interpretation. "There is no single way to interpret or read social life (there is not a single truth or law) there can be diverse readings or views of this depending on the social actors and the polysemy of the social world" (Ricoeur 1981).

²² Unlike structuralism, which stated that individuals embrace norms due to society's influence, post-structuralism established that people are active agents that appropriated but also transformed social dynamics through their interaction with culture, nature, objects and social, political and economic structures.

²³ These methodological tools (post-modern and auto-reflexive ethnography and discursive analysis) are going to be explained in depth in chapter 2.

movements and processes; representations - symbols associated with practices and behaviors related to green consumption, recycling, green objects – products, looking in particular at ecological and political subjects and identities and institutional and local discursive practices (Ulloa 2001, 2005a; Palacio y Ulloa 2002; Leff 2004, 2010).

Post-structural analysis of these dynamics has led anthropologists (among them urban) to address a new historical, interactive and interdependent relationship between nature and culture, between natural and social processes, paying special attention to local place-based knowledge and cultural models of nature (Low 1996; Escobar 2000). This allows transcending dual, dichotomous and deterministic concepts and ideas such as that man is determined by the environment and vice versa, often founded upon expert knowledge and modern-western thought. This approach also allows incorporating the importance of the perspective of place as discussed in section 1.3 (Leff 1996; Escobar 1996, 2000; Ulloa 2001).

Thus, anthropologists began to propose that as it occurs with culture, identities and cities cannot speak of nature, but of *natures* since there are different notions, perceptions and representations of it which are dependent on social actors, their practices, context, places and territories ('territorios' in Spanish). These notions end up being a hybrid blend of local and global influences that are often part of a local group's strategies (such as identities) to communicate and negotiate with government institutions (Escobar 1999). I found these reflections really interesting as I wanted to compare an institutional programme and a local initiative where various notions of nature, environment and other categories converged.

As I conducted the literature review, I came to understand that when analysing different forms of environmentalisms (and for instance the dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance), various branches of anthropology (ecological, environmental and urban) and sociology also make use of Political Ecology and until recently Urban Political Ecology (UPE). Consequently, I decided to study their proposals and the way they were being used in order to include them in my theoretical framework due to the following reasons. Political Ecology is a sub-discipline of recent formation (late twentieth century) that allows anthropologists to include the political dimension in their analysis, regarding the interaction between culture, development, the environment / nature and humans. Therefore, these interactions began to be understood as spaces of tension and conflict, permeated by unequal power relations. A constant process of negotiation and redefinition between the various actors characterises these interactions and spaces: government institutions, NGO's, groups of people and individuals (Forsyth 2002; Palacio y Ulloa 2002). Influenced by post-

structuralism, political ecology scholars included reflections not only on discursive practices that take into account the reproduction of the system and a sort of resource control but also from those who answer back, resist and re-define alternatives to development and environmental problems. The latter include, for example, those responses generated by movements and social processes, through place-based discourses, subjectivities and the construction of new identities (Escobar 1996, 1998b, 1999; Bryant and Bailey 1997; Martínez 2002). Taking an ecological approach as part of this perspective is crucial as it allows analysing the relationship between mind, body, spirit and nature as a continuum, and by doing so it contributes to linking knowledge and experience (Escobar 2000, Alimonda 2015).

From the beginning of the XXI century and coinciding with a process of urbanisation at planetary scale, UPE originates: "... as a theoretical platform for interrogating the complex, interrelated processes and socio-ecological changes that occur within cities" (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003:906). As in post-structural Political Ecology, the idea is to study those areas of struggle, negotiation, appropriation, contestation, resistance and defence generated by urbanisation that were almost unexplored from the perspective of power and spatial justice (Keil 2005). These processes, which involve the relationship between humans, natures and environments, generates contexts like today's cities that are characterised by multilayered networks of global, national, regional and local connections. Consequently, UPE has become highly influential in advancing the understanding of the political, economic, social, cultural and environmental processes that give rise to uneven urban landscapes and urban environments, and in particular, those affecting vulnerable and marginalised populations within the city (Keil 2003, 2005; Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Alimonda 2015). Hence, UPE has become really important for the understanding of the dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance.

Thus, UPE researchers seek to analyse place-based discursive and historical practices at individual, collective and institutional level in neoliberal and modern contexts like contemporary times. For instance, as part of the different debates that characterise this field, some UPE studies developed within this approach criticised consequences of current urbanisation processes, taking into account ecological modernisation and sustainability discourses in places like Los Angeles, UK or Latin America (Gibbs 2002; Ramírez 2009). Other researchers, such as Erik Swyngedouw, have explored water - privatisation nexus, or engaged with environmental justice (Agyeman, Bullard and Evans 2003) or uneven urban environments (Keil 2003; Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003). It is important to consider that something that has been repeatedly analysed and denounced by UPE scholars is that

environmental discourses have been co-opted to hold resources from a neoliberal and a capitalist perspective (Ramírez 2009; Alimonda 2015).

Nevertheless, there are still areas that require further analysis in the scope of UPE studies: for instance, consequences of policy programmes and changes, understanding of the urban as a process of socioecological change, social and cultural consequences of urbanisation, articulation of environmental concerns with socially inclusive urbanisation and the intersection of neoliberal policies with local policies and environmental histories, etc (Scones 1999; Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Keil 2005; Veron 2010).

Considering the above issues requiring further attention according to UPE and posed by urban anthropology, I found the following intersections: need for further study of the relationship between nature and humans in the urban global south, and more specifically on how such relationship is shaped by policies, discourses, practices, conceptions, perceptions, representations and meanings of both public officials and local residents. An interdisciplinary and ethnographic approach allows exploring the development, dynamics and consequences of urban environmental politics and governance. Hence, allows the research of institutional mechanisms (programmes, policies and plans) and local strategies through the study of social urban movements and processes that relate to environmental issues. Another intersection refers to dynamics giving rise to these ecological initiatives and their consequences on the place-based subject and identity construction. It is necessary to consider institutional mechanisms (plans, programmes and local strategies) as social movements or processes that are related to dynamics regarding politics of place. Finally, I found an intersection regarding analysis (through specific examples) of the local opportunities that place-based strategies and conflicts (as a part of politics off/from place) offer to redefine power and become alternatives to development and planning.

When I reached this point of clarity about the perspective to be adopted in my research, I had the opportunity to meet anthropologists Bruno Latour and Arturo Escobar at the 'Anthropological Visions for Sustainable Futures' event at the University College London. Their presentations provided me with further insights to position my research in those debates. Both scholars refer to the ontological turn humankind are going through, which is evident in social theory, as a result of the western-modern, industrial, capitalist, (neo)liberal, anthropocentric, rational, patriarchal and secular paradigm and of the social and ecological crisis.

Escobar and other Latin-American postmodern and postcolonial scholars, despite of their differences and debates, argue that we are going through a moment of transition, moving

from a mono-ontological occupation of the planet by the one-world world (globalised universe of meaning), towards a pluriverse condition that is a world in which many worlds with diverse meanings fit (Mignolo 2013; Escobar 2014a). Shifting from a modernity paradigm characterised by a disconnection between men (subject-individual) and nature, as well as science and spirit, to another where a reconnection between human beings, nature, science and spirit is born, where spirituality regains its importance.

Alternative rationalities to Western ones became empowered and visible as a response to both urban and rural social processes and movements involving peasants, indigenous, afro-descendants and other social groups. These movements are rooted in a sense of place and territory and promote alternative proposals for development and different models of living, such as the ones encompassed under the notions of eco-villages, ecobarrios, and 'good living', expressing different relational ontologies. They also contribute with transition discourses, practices, narratives and knowledge that go beyond reason and cover aspects such as intuition. This is why anthropology plays a vital role when it comes to understanding these present and future alternatives; based on the analysis of daily life, it reveals the values, beliefs, narratives, traditions and practices that form these alternatives, contributing to new ways of understanding the social field.

The insights mentioned above came to me at a key moment because they made it easier for me to express and analyse the discourses, practices and narratives that I was dealing with, mainly in the 'Ecobarrio' institutional programme and that had a certain influence on the uptake of this notion by grassroots actors when conceiving and defending their own territory as an Ecobarrio. Having access to this information was also of significance since said positions have not received a lot of attention from the academic field because they were influenced by spiritual paradigms. Therefore, there not many 'academic' texts on the subject and even fewer that could be linked to urban contexts. According to Escobar (2014a), Latour and other scholars, this occurs precisely because modern ontology makes them invisible due to dominance of rationality.

This is how I realised that with my research I could provide some thoughts, suggestions and interpretations to some of these issues that are emerging in a conjectural, complex and challenging moment for humanity. Through this realisation, I also reinforced my intention to contribute to urban planning studies from a UA perspective, using two theoretical approaches such as post-structuralism and UPE. In order to fulfill this goal, throughout this ethnography I examine how place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities are formed through implementation of a discursive practice such as Ecobarrio. The idea is

to develop this goal throughout the text, based on the questions that I presented in the introduction (in the ethnography problem section), which are supported by diverse theoretical categories to facilitate reflection on these complex and trans-disciplinary urban dynamics.

In the following sections I will present the theoretical categories and analytical tools adopted to study the construction process of subjects and identities involved in the micro-politics off/from place dynamics linked to Ecobarrios.

1.2 Eco place-based subjects and identities in the Ecobarrios

In order to understand how I analysed the construction process of subjects and identities, it is useful to begin by defining them using post-structuralism as a reference. In this study, people are going to be analysed as *subjects* and *social actors*. They are *subjects* in the sense that they are the product of power and culture. For Foucault: "...there is no such entity as *power*, with or without a capital letter; global, massive, or diffused; concentrated or distributed. Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action..." (Foucault 1994:340) Hence, power is not primarily domination but rather a corporeal force, the capacity to do certain things, a blurred social relationship that goes through diverse spaces (Escobar 1999; García 1988). Therefore, a power relation is defined as: "...a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action..." (Foucault 1994:340) These relationships or 'strategic games' could be generated within a family, at school or within the "political machinery" because power is always present in all human relations. Nevertheless, this does not mean we should forget how, in some cases, power concentrates and sediments in institutions and social agents (García 1988).

Regarding culture, post-structuralism has a symbolic and political approach that understands it as a network of contextual senses of historical meanings that are transformed over time as part of the social processes²⁴ reflecting the pluriverses. Hence,

²⁴ As post-structuralism states, **social process** is a dynamic and historical field that is always under construction and reproduction. The social field is a continuous co-production among humans, objects and nature; it does not imply a controlling project or master plan: "...no particular social ordering can ever be absolute or eternal... [Because]...Historical dialogue continually gives rise to forms of order...and also embodies the permanent possibility of their transformation..."(Falzon1998:45). The social is a product of the interaction of power and social relations and institutional, interactional and cultural domains (Foucault 1969, Escobar 2000, Long 2001). According to Foucault (1980), the social could be understood as a field of ways of functioning, dispositions, techniques, manoeuvres, tactics (discursive practices) and as a network of power relations and resistance, constantly in tension and activity: "...where there are also encounters or conflicts that are not necessarily violent ones." (Falzon 1998:45) As part of this dimension it is important to clarify that **social relations** are understood as diverse types of encounters where subjects have to confront different relational positions. In these encounters social actors develop diverse types of personal, family, work, neighbour and citizen relations where they perform diverse roles and build different ties such as kinship, friendship, vicinity and community through interpersonal

culture, as a collective and transforming process of meanings, is shaped by social experience, power relations, place-based practices and subjectivities (Sperber 1988; LeCron Foster 1994; Escobar 1999; Bolívar 2006; Charry 2006; García 2008). Hence, culture is interpreted as:

“...a continuously re-shaped product of the social processes through which systems of meaning and modes of thought are generated. Cultures provide vocabularies through which we express what we think and feel. ...” (Healey 1997: 64).

“...culture is a set of material and immaterial (discursive) practices that set up meanings, values, beliefs, behaviours and subjectivities...” (Glenn and Weedon 1995:8)

Therefore, it is possible to talk about subjects that are immersed in a domain of dynamic structures, power relations and mechanisms. Hence, their production takes place in a historical scenario, where multiple roles and identities intersect depending on particular cultural places and discursive practices of everyday life that interact with macro domains - city, country, global networks. Being a subject involves the formation of subjectivities, or in other words:

“The fixation of particular identities in individuals, for them to experiment themselves as specific types of beings with certain types of capacities and qualities... [through which]...the government is capable of modeling human conduct” (Bolívar 2006:10)

It is important to mention that this process does not necessarily imply fixation of subjectivities as such, but formation of a structure of possibilities that determines subjects' parameters for action. The process of construction of subjectivities is then produced in a steady manner in/by historical discourses and practices in various spheres of social reality that are traversed by power relations (Foucault 1980; Escobar 1999; Escobar, Álvarez and Dagnino 2001). Before going any further, I would like to clarify that discourse is defined as a knowledge-power package that helps to organise different domains of social life and is materialised, reproduced and transformed through social and discursive practices (Foucault 1969, 1971). Therefore for post-structuralism, discourses are not just words or mental categories, they have a materiality connected to bodies, spaces, places, social relations, practices and subjectivities. In fact, a discourse is a practice itself through which social reality comes into existence in everyday life (Escobar 1996; Restrepo 2006; Zambrini y Ladevito 2009). For instance, anthropologists like Escobar (1999) conceive development as a discourse with its own forms of knowledge and power techniques that produces

mechanisms like solidarity, communication, cooperation, coordination and coexistence (Motta 1995; Healey 1997; Romero, Arciniegas and Jiménez 2006). Consequently, social actors constantly construct social networks and links that generate and strengthen “...the bonds that connect the individual interests giving a collective sense to such manifestations” (Rivoir 1999:3)

subjectivities through which people recognise something as 'developed' or 'underdeveloped'.

Social practices are defined as meaningful human actions that are learned, reproduced and transformed through interactions among humans, nature, things and places. These 'place – based practical actions' could have a relation with material objects, buildings or material elements as well as with immaterial 'placed – based practical actions', such as knowledge, traditions and customs. And they can even be both, material and immaterial, daily and non-daily, individual or collective; they are all influenced by cultural, historical and institutional contexts and their discourses. Through these economic, ecological, cultural etc. multiple practices, it is possible to keep and transform different forms of knowledge, beliefs, values, identities and places, which can also reproduce and transform the social system. Hence, for post-structuralism, practices are conceived as mechanisms for change (Foucault 1967, 1971; Long 2001; Escobar 1999, 2008; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008)

The subject as a hybrid is crossed by multiple roles and global and local dynamics, and in this sense: "... it is important to investigate ... [de-construct] ... the historical constitution of subjectivity as a composite of positions and determinations without a true or static essence, always open and incomplete "(Escobar 1999: 266). This is how one person can constitute and experience, conscious or unconsciously, being subject to different forms of subjectivity, and various subjects depending on the situation-relationship; for example the political, the ecological, the "underdeveloped", etc.

On the other hand, people are also *social actors or active subjects* because they have an action or agency which allows for social change and re-production of social processes through their interaction with nature, things, practices, discourses and spaces (moving forward from the dichotomies human/nature; subject/object) (Foucault 1969; Long 2001). Hence, subjects are no longer conceived as individuals subservient to the structures, but as active subjects, either individual or collective, that are able to react to these subjection dynamics (Leff 2010). It is important to note that the same power mechanisms (such as discipline and normalisation) that construct (and control) us as subjects include the potential for tension from the action that, as social actors, we can exercise (Mansfield 2000; Pérez 2012). This opens the possibilities of resistances, struggles and revolts against socially imposed constraints, renewed dialogue and changes of social forms; which prevent any social ordering from becoming absolute (Foucault 1994; Escobar 1999).

Precisely as part of these actions, identity starts playing a key role from the post-structural and postmodern approach. There have been many debates around the concept of identity, and it is not my intention to study them here. Nevertheless, I depart from the consideration that having an identity is not natural; this is a category derived from modernity, connected to the appearance of the State – Nation, as a part of the subjectivities process, just as being a citizen. Identity has also been appropriated by many collectivities, constituted by active subjects of power, who have reinvented them in order to re-identify and counter-identify themselves using cultural tools (Ulloa 2004; Bolívar 2006; Leff 2010). Hence, identity will be understood as a relational process generated from the relationship of actors with themselves and others, through interactions, circumstances, power relations and, in general, socialisation processes in which they operate. Therefore, the production of identity (ies) is understood throughout this ethnography as a conscious process of self-reflective identification through which the subject finds similarities and differences with others, thus generating a sense of belonging to groups and places, but at the same time contradictions and dilemmas (Hall 1999; Gil 2005).

One speaks of multiple place-based identities that can coexist in the same person without exclusion, where their own construction involves various dimensions – relational, spatial, ethnic, professional, family, gender and location (neighbourhood, city, country, national, global) (Low 1999). This is how: "Identity is thus seen both ways: as related to cultural practices and traditional knowledge, on the one hand, and as an ever changing political/cultural construction project on the other..."(Escobar 1999: 177). Thus, identities are also constructed in interaction processes, often unequal with respect to each other, or negotiation and (internal and external) dialogue with others. Their study entails understanding how a person (or individual identity) and groups of people are explained and characterised by themselves (for example from collective identities - with certain discourses and practices) as part of historical processes and political and cultural meanings, values, behaviors and knowledges²⁵ through which they resist structures and institutions and / or redefine themselves (Bolívar 2006). At present, this happens in a context where the State's influences on their shaping as part of its power mechanisms and technologies of the self coexist with hybrid cultural dynamics producing identities constructed amid tensions and relationships between the global and the local in cities (Restrepo 1999; García 2005; Martí and Bonet 2008).

²⁵ According to Foucault (O'farrel 2005) **knowledge** may not be understood outside its relation to power. Any form of knowledge emerges from a complex network of power and mechanisms; and exercise of power produces a certain type of knowledge. Furthermore, for authors such as Ingold (1996) and Escobar (1999), power-knowledge should be studied from a place-based perspective in order to understand certain types of knowledge such as the local - which for my study is crucial.

From this point of view, my intention is to understand how and why people, in their condition of active subjects of power, activated and appropriated, or not, the discourses and practices of Ecobarrios. Hereto, I will explore how they became, or not, conscious or unconscious ecological and political subjects (both individually and collectively), with conscious or unconscious, individual and collective, ecological and political subjectivities or identities. This analysis draws upon de-construction of what Ecobarrios, both as an institutional programme and banner of local initiatives, defines as the ecological and political, and of what people, individually and collectively, interpret and represent from a discursive and practical standpoint. I will analyse this by ethnographically tracking some individual and collective trajectories, as explained in the methodology chapter.

Notwithstanding global dynamics, in order to achieve thorough understanding of subject and identities definition and construction processes, this ethnography examines place and relationships with it as a key factor. Due to its importance, I will develop this issue in the next section.

1.3 Micro-politics of and from place in Eco-cities

The question of place has been raised in the last decade from a variety of perspectives: "...from its relation to the basic understanding of being and knowing to its fate under globalisation and the extent to which it continues to aid or hinder thinking about culture, economy, environment and development" (Escobar 2001:140). This questioning emerged because for some 'placelessness' has become an essential feature of the 'globalised' era, where dynamics of hybridity²⁶, among others²⁷, take place. Nevertheless, for academics such as Escobar (2000, 2001), Oslender (1999) and Ulloa (2008), place continues to be important in the life of many people. Hence, they argue that it is imperative to "get back into place" through an anthropology that emerge as the necessary side (a complementary part not "the other") of non-place (space) anthropology and de-territorialised cultures.

Therefore, place is defined as: "...the experience of a particular location with some measure of being grounded (however, unstable), with a sense of boundaries (however, permeable), and connection to everyday life, even if its identity is constructed, traversed by power, and never fixed." (Escobar 2001:140). Thus, these political and historical creations have three components (fully interconnected): a) the locality, related to everyday practices developed in

²⁶ These dynamics are related to the tensions between the global and the local, homogenisation versus differentiation and how this tends to build hybrid cultures, identities and planning programmes that have diverse effects depending on the particular, local contexts and their spaces and places (Gupta and Ferguson 2008).

²⁷ Such as diaspora, displacement, travelling, de-territorialisation, border crossing, nomadology; all of them considered as new metaphors of mobility that are privileged in explanations of culture and identity (Escobar 2001).

formal and informal frames. b) Location, associated with the specific geographic area that includes the locality and operates within a broader outline (regional, national, global). c) The sense of place, that involves a sense of belonging, (by individuals or collectives - for example, the so-called or self-enunciated communities²⁸) derived from living in a particular place (Oslender 1999). Discourses and practices play a crucial role in the signification and representation of places and their components, as they make sense and exist by being an intrinsic part of the cultural, political, ecological and environmental discursive practices (Low and Lawrence 2003; Lindon, Aguilar and Hiernaux 2006).

Production of place, and therefore identities, subjectivities, knowledge, natures, politics and cultures - all of which 'sit in place' - can be analysed considering the dynamics that connect different scales, such as the global and local (Massey 1994; Escobar 2001). This implies taking into account the dynamic and fluid relation between space and time, but also to develop:

"A sensitivity towards the places ... [of resistance or appropriation] ... which implies the recognition of the intentionality of the historical subjects, the subjective nature of perceptions, imaginations and experience in the dynamic of spatial contexts and how these spaces are transformed into places full of cultural meanings, memory and identity" (Routledge 1996:520).

Place production is linked to the place-making process (about which I have been talking) and it is understood from an anthropological perspective. Therefore, it is associated with collective and individual use of place and with its cultural, dynamic and historical significance, from values and specific meanings activated by means of being, knowing and doing discursive practices in everyday life. In turn, these practices imply conscious or unconscious interaction with nature and/or environment (which varies according to those involved - actors and their context) (Restrepo 1999; Escobar 2001, 2008; Agnes 2012).

Within this framework, and as part of a context where environmentalism is part of the 'new' prevailing discursive formations, some of the current debates within post-structuralist anthropology and political ecology (and it is worth including in UA and UPE), are focused on the following: characterising, deconstructing, understanding and analysing processes of construction and re-invention of new place – based hybrid subjectivities and identities, as part of emancipation and resistance dynamics by the subject. These dynamics are giving

²⁸ Community was defined as a group of people that: "...have informal networks of interpersonal ties outside the household which provide sociability and support to members, residence in a common locality and solidarity sentiments and activities" (Wellman 1999:13). These long term bonds that come from common characteristics such as values, traditions and customs and that are produced through a network of amity provide support, sense of belonging and social identity to social actors (Cohen 1981, Hataya 2010). Nonetheless, this does not imply that there are no conflicts or tensions present.

way to new alternatives, not only in development, but also to create and represent other realities (pluriverses) with a cultural, more holistic systemic natural approach to new strategies that mobilise processes of social change. The latter creates a new analysis scenario where culture and local knowledge are seen as a space or mechanism of power for social actors: micro politics of and from place (Bolívar 2006; Escobar 2008; Leff 2010). These emergent forms of politics are related to a logic of difference and possibility that builds on a multiplicity of actions (such as subaltern practices) for the construction of alternative worlds, at the level of everyday life (Escobar 2008).

The latter has become evident with social movements and processes that, for instance in Latin America, focus on the discursive and practical defence of *territorio*, identity and culture. The meaning of the term *territorio* in Spanish is different from its literal English translation because it is not only a political and geographical category to order space (Dell'Agnese 2013); instead:

“...it is the ensemble of projects, representations, meanings and narratives where a whole series of behaviours and investments can pragmatically emerge, in time and in social, cultural, aesthetic and cognitive space; it is an existential and multidimensional space of self reference where dissident subjectivities can emerge...[therefore]...The defence of territory entails the defence of an intricate pattern of place-based practices, social relations and cultural constructions; it also implies the creation of a novel sense of belonging linked to the political construction of collective life project” (Escobar 2008: 68)

Any *territorio* is a *territorio* of difference in that it entails unique ecological, cultural and social place making and region making, linking history, culture, nature and social life (Bello 2011). The following are the constitutive dimensions that help us to understand what a *territorio* is: 1) Scale, where social actors that are part of the place-making processes operate at different interconnected levels: local, urban, regional, national, global, etc (for instance through networks of social relations). 2) Time, a *territorio* is a space built in and through history, and 3) Knowledge, its construction implies different types of knowledge: local, traditional and institutional (Ther 2012). All these dimensions could be intertwined through mechanisms such as memory, which enable continuous reconstruction of a territory. Memory is conceived as: “a mechanism that articulates the psychological, social and historical, can answer to a social process and comes from subjectivity (like a person’s memories) in order to build a collective memory; hence it is an act of re-creation of the past from the present” (González 2013: 66).

In Latin American contexts, the defence of the territory (despite global dynamics) is connected (in some cases) to identity and cultural tools, as a part of the micro-politics of and from place. Often, construction of this defence is directly related to the sense of belonging to

a place (a territory, a neighbourhood²⁹, etc.) with the objective of generating mechanisms of appropriation and control, and/or defence from or resistance to the State (Bolívar 2006; Ther 2012). When it comes to resistance, I agree with Ortner (1995) when she states that:

“...resistors are doing more than simply opposing domination, more than simply producing a virtually mechanical reaction, then we must go the whole way. They have their own politics...within all the local categories of friction and tension” (Ortner 1995:51)

Hence, when studying these socio-cultural and political manifestations, it is necessary to consider that they are not homogeneous and they have their own complexity, ambiguity and contradiction dynamics, which are associated to daily life, as we will see when studying the San Cristobal case in chapters 6 and 7. Through these manifestations people do not only resist, but suggest new meanings and concepts from their local knowledge, such as nature, citizenship, democracy, and others, as an attempt to transform dominant policies (Escobar, Álvarez and Dagnino 2001).

The previous discussion has led scholars to pose questions such as: "what relations between the individual and the collective, culture and politics, government and social movement action, activist and expert knowledge account for the making of individual identities in place-based, yet local situations?" (Escobar 2008:10). These questions have started to find academic answers from invisible scenarios, such as urban Latin America where more social movements and processes are becoming place-bound, particularly those linked to ecological and environmental claims³⁰ (Escobar 2000; Ulloa 2008; Agnes 2012; Mignolo 2013). This thesis aims at contributing to this body of work understanding the dynamics explained above for subjectivities and identities, in the cases of Lombardía and San Cristobal, analysing how they developed and what relationships among social actors, subjectivities and identities exist. Furthermore, it aims to examine the role of actors as community leaders in building subjectivities and identities by exploring the microphysics of power, potential of these politics off/from place to generate or trigger changes in Bogotá's urban planning, and how all these dynamics are related to place-making processes.

²⁹ In this project, neighbourhoods, are understood as the smallest unit of spatial analysis where people can create, or not, community ties; links like: "...networks of interpersonal ties (outside of the household) which provide sociability and support to members, residence in a common locality, and solidarity sentiments and activities" (Wellman and Leighton 1979: 365).

³⁰ It is important to highlight that these urban social movements or processes are not always in fact conformed for environmental or ecological reasons, but they use these discourses as a means to legitimise other complaints connected to poverty and social marginality, among others; as a way of fighting for their rights (Hernández 2011).

To be able to study all these dynamics associated with development of a programme and initiative like the Ecobarrio, I decided to draw on the notion of eco-governmentality, a decision elaborated in the next section.

1.4 Active subjects, places, cities and governmentality from an 'Eco' perspective

To explain why I chose eco-governmentality as part of my analytical tools, it is important to start with a brief explanation of what I understand by governmentality. By this notion, I refer to the techniques and procedures that are designed to govern the conduct of both individuals and populations at every level, not just the administrative or political level; they are understood in the broad sense as governmentalities (Grinberg 2007). This notion includes policies, programmes and plans that create subjects and citizens, not just through repression and over control, but through productive power that develops subjectivities as identities (Pérez 2012). Likewise, governmentalities involve:

"...one's relationship to oneself, which means that ... it points to the set of practices through which may be constituted, defined, organised, instrumentalised, the strategies that individuals in their freedom can establish in relation to each other. Free individuals who try to control, determine, delineate the freedom of others, and to do so they make use of certain instruments to rule them... [as in families, schools etc] ..." (Foucault 1984: 278)

Thus, ruling refers not only to the act of exercising authority over the other or how abstract units like populations can be governed by the State; it also refers to the way we govern ourselves through various strategies, technologies and programmes. Throughout the analysis, I therefore examine the following government technologies: technologies of power which are broadly understood as those employed to govern the other, children, spouses, neighbours, up until they can be applied in an institution through programmes, policies, cartography, securitisation, urban planning and so on (Foucault 1984; Agrawal 2005; Grinberg 2007). I also examine the technologies of the self: "... that allow individuals to carry out, on their own or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their body and soul, thoughts, behaviour, or way of being, obtaining a transformation of themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom or immortality" (Foucault 1990:22). The subject is therefore seen as a product of all these technologies, as well as of the disciplinary practices of normalisation (Agrawal 2005; Miller and Rose 2008).

Governmentality applies to different historical periods with specific power regimes. For instance, several scholars claim that we are currently witnessing a neoliberal governmentality that is associated with societies where power is de-centralised and its members play an active role in their self-government. Hence, individuals are regulated from

the inside, allowing the construction of self-regulated or self-correcting 'free' selves (Agrawal 2005).

To analyse governmentalities, and therefore rationalities³¹ and power/knowledge relations implies:

"...to identify these different styles of thought, their conditions of formation, the principles and knowledges that they borrow from and generate, the practices and discourses that they consist of, how they are carried out, their contestations and alliances with other parts of governing. From such a perspective, it becomes apparent that each formulation of an art of governing embodies an answer to the following questions: Who or what is to be governed? Why should they be governed? How should they be governed? To what ends should they be governed? Thus, the governed are, variously, members of a flock to be nurtured or culled; juridical subjects whose conduct is to be limited by law, individuals to be disciplined, or, indeed, people to be freed. Further, instead of seeing any single body—such as the state—as responsible for managing the conduct of citizens, this perspective recognises that a whole variety of authorities govern in different sites, in relation to different objectives. Hence, a second set of questions emerges: Who governs what? According to what logics? With what techniques? Toward what ends?" (Rose, O'malley and Valverde 2006:84).

In this context, I can move on to define eco-governmentality. Since the mid-1990s the environment has become a knowledge susceptible to a specific governmentality, which has been conceptualised in many ways; for example, it has been under categories of ecological governmentality (Rutherford 1999), environmental governmentality (Darier 1999), environmentality (Luke 1999) and eco-governmentality (Ulloa 2004, 2005a). The latter means:

"...as all politics, the discourses, the knowledge, the representations and the environmental practices (local, national and transnational) that interact with the purpose of leading social actors (green bodies) to think and behave in particular ways toward specific environmental purposes (sustainable development, environmental safety, conservation of biodiversity, access to genetic resources, etc.)... the latter implies negotiations and conflicts, as well as agreements" (Ulloa 2008:289).

This is how this analytical tool, derived from governmentality and appropriated and developed by political ecology scholars, allows us to understand these new forms of governance and political spatialities at various scales (neighbourhood, urban, regional, national and global), all derived from a new discursive formation: environmentalism. It enables study of the language that allows expression about different ways of representing knowledge (and its notions) on ecological and environmental actors. These new forms of governance are expressed in practices, representations, policies (technology), models in

³¹ Rationality as: "...a way of doing things that was oriented to specific objectives and that reflected on itself in characteristic ways" (Rose, O'malley and Valverde 2006:84). Neoliberalism is an example of these rationalities that imply technologies.

urban planning like the eco-city, giving foundations to new place-based eco-political subjectivities and identities with an ecological/environmental consciousness (Ulloa 2008). Therefore, through this new eco-governmentality, such phenomena as the current empowerment of traditional and local knowledge (indigenous, peasants, urban dwellers, etc.) can be discussed. This makes it possible to rethink the knowledge – power relationship in conflict and negotiation scenarios, making way, for the development of alternative ecologies or alternative ecological developments as part of politics of/from place (Escobar 1998b).

Based on the above, I adopt the notion of eco-governmentality as an analytical tool to explore what the sources of eco-governmentalities are in the two case studies examined in this thesis and what processes gave rise to these eco-governmentalities. In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 I therefore characterise, contextualise and analyse how Ecobarrios emerged in these two cases and whether the programme and local initiative produced specific place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities and, if so, how. In doing so, I take into account aspects such as logics, rationality and politics of/from place, as well as the strategies and techniques - constituted by discourses and practices – that were designed and implemented depending on the case. The use of this analytical tool also allows me to study not only the forms of power of the government (Lombardía's case) but also resistance, tensions and drain lines (San Cristobal's case) (Grinberg 2007). This implies analysing the role of everyday life, which, as argued by Grinberg (2007), has not yet been addressed in depth for Latin America:

“...approaching complexities of daily life and real living subjects who make history, contradictions and emerging struggles, ways of life... reflecting on subjectification processes, emerging discourses, both higher and emerging knowledge, rationalities that manage to prevail, as well as experienced and daily struggles and resistances, their complexities and contradictions” (Grinberg 2007: 106)

This allowed me to consider and understand what Foucault denominated the microphysics of power (1980), directly related to the dynamics of the micro-politics of/from place. According to Foucault the political can be analysed through the power relations that develop in everyday life practices and discourses (in this case, those occurring at neighbourhood level), such as: “concrete shapes of relationships between governing and governed individuals (...) these relationships are not limited to social actions that may be explicitly labelled political” (Bocarejo 2011:44). This daily process of differential power formation (including resistance), should be seen as something that operates and is made to operate from specific subjectivities, assumed by individuals who adopt and construct discourses and habits in which they can exercise control and governance, or attempt to exercise it. This is

reflected in the formation of micro-politics for themselves and for the immediate environment.

Therefore, an eco-governmentality filter analysis does not only allow me to study power relations at a macro scale, such as urban scale with global influences (in terms of discourses between institutions and individuals); but also at the micro level, in these neighbourhoods and everyday life of their inhabitants. Also, this tool helped me not just to make local alternatives to development visible, but also to be critical and analyse them in their complexities, how they emerged, what they turned into and how people relate to city government.

Completing this framework was a complex process because, as stated by the members of the Latin American de-colonial studies group, we are experiencing a moment of ontological turn. This implies that since it is a transition phase (from a rational to an ecological/spiritual paradigm), we must understand how it is occurring and, at the same time, create new analytical frameworks for its study. In my personal experience, I constantly faced this challenge, and this was a very interesting and rewarding experience. Therefore, my analytical framework is merely a proposal of how these processes could be understood, acknowledging that they are part of this transition and, consequently imply the hybridisation of diverse paradigms. The following chapter presents the methodology adopted to translate my analytical framework in the field.

Chapter 2. The Interpretation of 'Ecobarrios' from an Urban Ethnographic Approach (UEA)

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used to carry out my research. It is an overview as when I was writing the ethnography I decided it would be convenient to put the methodology in context in order to explain how I collected the information used in each analytical chapter. This also helps to reflect on the ethnographic exercise, to contextualise my arguments and to understand how I modified my analytical tools to cope with the challenges I faced in the field.

I want to start by explaining what I understand ethnography to be:

"... A social investigation based on the close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do...in order to grasp what people experienced as meaningful and important "(Wacquant 2003: 5).

My ethnography, in line with my theoretical framework, adopts an interpretative and post-structural approach in the sense that it considers social life as an ongoing and fluid process. This means that the ethnographer has the opportunity to see events first-hand, to read between the lines and interpret how power and meaning emerges through discussions and individual and collective action. Additionally, she/he sees how representations, meanings, perceptions, values, knowledge and practices are historically situated and entangled in power relations (Schatz 2009). For example, this type of ethnographies seek to account for how knowledge producers resist, subvert and adapt to the dominant knowledge and in the process create new knowledge (Restrepo 2006). Ethnographic exercises are therefore based on 'first person' interpretation and not the 'third person', scientific judgment (this explains my style of writing this text in general). Ethnography is not only the field itself, but also the written product that is derived from it - this text.

I place this ethnography along those that have been influenced by post-modernism and have tried to capture cultural and social dynamics, power, subjects and identities relations in an increasingly interconnected globalised world where it has become necessary to rethink concepts such as space, place and territory. These ethnographies are multi-positioned to the extent that they take into account different social actors (community, public and private entities, NGO's etc.) and multi-sited as they take into account the local and global dynamics, interactions in different locations (streets, houses, shops etc.) and their production. As argued by Marcus: "In these ethnographies ...the overall is collapsed into and made an

integral part of parallel and local situations related rather as something monolithic or external to them "(Marcus 1995: 102)

Such ethnographies, unlike a traditional single-sited ethnography: "...examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time - space" (Marcus 1995: 96). This implies following modes of thought, discourses, narratives or stories (in this case), people, things (material culture) and life stories. Part of this multi-sited ethnography is also a strategically situated (single site) ethnography that is developed in order to connect the global and the local (in general, the various scales and interstices – local, urban, regional, national and global -) to the place. It considers the different forms of knowledge, discourses, practices and more. Ethnography includes a reflexive process within its methodology with debates such as positioning. These allow the researcher to question his/her role and action with regard to the topic they are researching, taking into account and being aware of their own context (Marcus 1995; Guber 2001; Escobar 2008).

The so-called new and experimental ethnographies of development have emerged within this framework (Mosse 2005) and I use them to contextualise mine. These ethnographies have worked on issues such as power, governance, public policy and relationships between global discourses, social movements and processes, the construction of subjects and identities, practices and discourses of resistance and cultural hybridisations. They have received contributions from different fields like political science, sociology and anthropology that have implemented new approaches such as political ethnography to study these issues. The proposal of the latter (political ethnography) is to conduct a more specific ethnographic exercise focused on gaining a deeper understanding of politics and power and its relationships with everyday life and culture. This has been carried out with research questions that seek to explore the meanings of particular political practices, concepts, processes, situational actors and others. This includes studying how institutional employees design and implement national, regional and city policies, how policy makers think about the decisions made and how they implement them (Baiochi and Connor 2008; Escobar 2008; Schatz 2009).

This implies taking into account not just the policies, programmes and plans but also the people behind them, their interests, discourses, representations and ideological influences. I think this is really interesting because it adds a more human approach to this 'side of the coin', the institutional actors' side. The influence of this approach allowed me, not only to understand the position of different actors such as neighbourhood dwellers, but also those who designed the Ecobarrios programme. For instance, I had access to the story behind the

official and public story - which is presented in chapters 3 to 7. This gave me a much broader and more interesting perspective of the social dynamics associated with and derived from Ecobarrios in both cases. Understanding their complexity from the different points of view of the actors that participated. It has provided me with an interpretative lens that transcends the top-down and bottom-up approaches from the scaling-up and hybrid narratives and practices of the active subjects.

Finally, returning to the starting point, we can find urban ethnographies, often being influenced by all aforementioned examples (as in this case). In recent years, these ethnographies have allowed researchers to connect social spaces and processes at the city's macro-level (policies, programmes - Ecobarrios - planning and development plans) to the micro domains of daily life. This was done with the aim of understanding how discourses and practices (of power) occur, impact, empower and constrain people (all the actors involved) and how this effects the dynamics of social change and the production of space and place (Cucó 2004; Mosse 2005; Shore 2010). With respect to the latter it is worth noting that:

"Although anthropologists 'traditionally' have started the study from spatially constituted realities like the site, the village, the maloca or cultural area, only in recent years these categories have been problematised thus recognising new spatialities...[the city, neighbourhood, street, shop etc.]... Similarly it has been demonstrated that the production of anthropological knowledge and particularly of ethnographies- should be recognised as a spatial practice "(Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008: 9)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the fact that ethnographies like this take place in cities today entails limitations on the methodology because cities are multi-scale scenarios that are dynamic, complex and ever changing. García (2005), Salcedo and Zeiderman (2008), among others scholars, argue instead that the power to do urban ethnographies enriches the debate on the need to rethink anthropology and its methods in the context of confusion and uncertainty³² as well as its role in development planning studies. These ethnographies provide a more detailed understanding of intercultural and interethnic relationships which are subordinate to macro-social visions from other disciplines. They also provide insights into the re-articulation of identity with its historical, mobile and material character and its conception as a place of struggle and conflict related to certain cultural and discursive practices that occur in the territory and everyday life. These ethnographies

³² Nowadays cultural styles such as "cosmopolitan" in cities make signification complex and disorganised, sometimes impossible. Besides this social and cultural unintelligibility, constant risk and danger awareness due to violence, natural disasters and other factors increases uncertainty in modern metropolis (Ferguson 1999; Hansen 2001; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008).

identify (as I intend to do): "... agents, mechanisms, practices, discourses and specific processes involved in the construction of identities...analysing their modus operandi, ideological orientations and considering interconnections between the local, regional, national and global ... "(Mato 1995: 129)

Therefore, urban ethnographies allow for exploration of intellectually productive interfaces through the study of multiple layers of perception, values and cultural meaning of daily discourses and practices (institutional, local, etc.) and the spaces and places in which they are developed. This takes into account the complexity of their relationships, trajectories and construction processes like that of subjects, subjectivities and identities that emerge as a result of these productive interfaces and are related to different scales (people, house, neighbourhood, city, country and planet). This is true even more so in a global scenario where many academics highlight de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation processes while environmentalism is gaining popularity (Ingold 2008). De-territorialisation is an anthropological concept that has been used to designate the weakened ties between culture and place: "...certain cultural/social processes and relations seem to increasingly transcend their previously given territorial boundaries in flexible capitalist and globalised societies" (Clarke and Kessl 2008:1). Re-territorialisation is also an anthropological concept that has been used in policy and governmentality studies to designate subaltern strategies of localisation by social movements and communities. These are of two kinds: "...place-based strategies that rely on the attachment to territory and culture; and network strategies that enable social movements to enact politics of scale from below" (Escobar 2008:32). Both processes must be understood as one, not separately, understanding their influence on global, regional, national, rural and urban spaces and places, that are re-signified from environmental discourses and practices (Clarke and Kessl 2008:1).

Within this framework, and bearing in mind previous debates, I carried out my field work using the following research techniques, according to each case which I'm going to explain and deepen in the analytical chapters:

Historical Contextualisation involves the review of what historiography calls primary and secondary sources.³³ This in order to collect background knowledge about the context and people associated with the case studies. Likewise, in this ethnography this contextualisation

³³ A primary source is a contemporary record generally written or produced by witnesses or people that have direct or personal knowledge of an event such as newspapers, letters, diaries, photographs, interviews, policies, plans, programmes. A secondary source is defined as interpretations of the primary sources written by diverse authors many years after the event happened (academic literature, movies of historical events). These sources have three contextual parameters: time, space and social and cultural environment (Curbelo 2003)

was develop with the aim of tracking the public history Ecobarrios proposals, as well as defining discourses and practices associated for subsequent discursive and practical analysis (section 2.2.).

Participant Observation is an anthropological method that involves going into the field and living with people and observing their daily interactions and activities by participating in them. This immersion exercise involves recording data collected in a field diary and analysing them in real time. This allowed me to witness discursive practices as 'discourse in action' or activities related to what was said, understood, and lived regarding Ecobarrios, and even more interestingly, the 'silent actions', what is done but not spoken (Alonso 1994). This allowed me to delve into and understand how and whether individual and collective construction processes of political and/or ecological subjects, subjectivities and identities occurred in each case and from place-based actors' perspectives.

Staying and living with people in their neighbourhoods is not always easy. For instance, inhabitants in these neighbourhoods advised me not to stay there for security reasons. This does not mean that one cannot do ethnography, quite the opposite; it poses new challenges to re-define and adjust methods to these new scenarios. Personally, I feel that this is also a key issue and refers to what Schatz (2009) calls general ethnographic sensibility that goes beyond face-to-face contact. Such sensibility allows researchers to grasp and readily interpret deeper meanings and perceptions acquired when living and sharing with people in their daily life. In these urban settings, it is necessary to maximise inquiry resources or tools that may include: listening skills, open-mind, and people skills or empathy with people (being humble not arrogant – a desire to learn from 'others') because you cannot live with people all the time. Obviously acquiring and/or having this 'sensibility' is almost intuitive and does not require previous field experience. This 'sensibility' is not always accurate because sometimes researchers do not belong to the specific context (i.e. neighbourhood) and sometimes not even the city or country. I should note that I believe that having lived in Bogotá since I was six years old, being Colombian and speaking Spanish enabled me to better understand this ethnography's context. However, this does not mean that my interpretation is unbiased; hence it is worth having a second opinion for me and other cases where the researcher was not born in the country of study and/or does not speak the language. This is where field assistants (at least one), preferably anthropologists and sociologists (with ethnographic experience), play a key role.

The role of my research assistants - field assistants (initially Sergio Ramírez – photo 4 - anthropologist and later Manuel Lozano – archaeologist photo 5) was fundamental in my

study for several reasons. Firstly, they both had experience developing ethnographies about similar issues in Bogotá. Thus, their contributions helped my reflections on how to adjust the methodology to the problems we were encountering in the field and to do more practical (and faster) implementation. Secondly, their company was crucial because at the end of a long day, discussing insights and experiences gained and observed became almost a therapeutic cathartic exercise. This perfectly complements crucial reflexive analysis in the field while the experience is 'still fresh'. Finally, being with them made it possible to have some peace of mind in terms of personal security. They accompanied me to locations which would have been difficult to access as a woman on my own and, very curiously, in some cases it facilitated interaction with women because some preferred to interact with them.

Photo 4. Sergio - Research Assistant
Source: Personal file Ome 2012

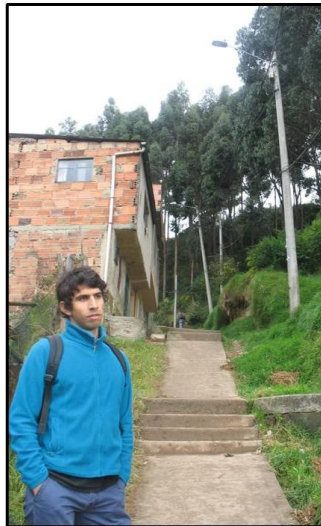


Photo 5. Manuel - Research Assistant
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Life stories method, used in anthropology, involves collecting key actors' individual or collective life experiences and events which provide context and historical background to particular research interests and questions. As a method, life stories involve collecting information through open and general questions focused on the researcher's topics of interest. It is a casual and intimate dialogue between the ethnographer and the person interviewed (Rojo 1997; Jimeno 2006). These take into account what people say and do - narratives – in the different areas of their daily lives (home, neighbourhood, city, country and world).

This method allows me to study cultural representations, meanings and place-based discourses and practices, construction of (individual and collective) subjects, subjectivities and identities, processes and social changes associated with Ecobarrios cases, both from the perspective of individual actors, neighbourhood inhabitants, and people behind officials involved in each case.

I believe that this method has a particularly interesting role from a perspective influenced by political ethnography since it allows the researcher to get closer to the stories of those people behind plans, programmes, policies etc. It gives them the opportunity to hear the story of when, how, why and where those programmes, plans and policies were developed and implemented. It provides details that the official story does not offer and that are essential for understanding the genesis and 'real' development of those policies, programmes and plans. In terms of the ethnography, this method helps to understand the role of important actors such as neighbourhood leaders and looks at their real capacity for action, transformation and planning at various scales (neighbourhood, city, etc.).

It is important to highlight that one of the limitations of this method is that it is based on memory, on what people can personally recall (which can sometimes be confusing). This also implies that they take into consideration the accounts of others to complement their own and that certain experiences are selected and others are omitted. However, the information collected (for instance, the conception they have of themselves and their sociocultural environment) has a unique character as it is coming from a friendly encounter, a relationship of trust with the interviewer. Its application is quite useful, particularly when complemented and contrasted with other methods (Jimeno 2006).

Ethnographic interviews (in this case, semi-structured and in-depth) go beyond conventional interviews and are considered to be 'face to face encounters'. They do not only include open questions (based on guide questionnaire) but they also take into account the

person's attitude, gestures, pauses and many other things (Russell 2000). Like previous methods, this also allows the researcher to access discourses, representations and cultural meanings from what people say and do.

In current urban anthropology, implementation of this method is quite practical when neither time nor conditions are available to develop a conscious ethnographic exercise or to complement one. This is because informal interviews generate a link which helps access life stories of people who in more formal settings might not open up. In this particular case, this allowed me to gain greater clarity about the life stories I would develop and to gather details to complement information collected through participative observation at discursive and practical levels adding an individual perspective.

Participatory cartographies connect people and places by using mapping's powerful representational practices. Maps do not represent relationships between people and places in a value neutral way. In fact, "... the way maps are conceived and created, reflects the perceptions of the cartographic map-makers and the power relations informing that perception" (Sanderson 2007: 122). Therefore, participatory cartography as a methodology derives from the geographic approach, which places participants as latent cartographers and recognises the researcher's cartographic role.

These cartographies intentionally concentrate on the ontological perceptions informing cartographic frames of reference. Their epistemology is different from participatory mapping because: "...them taking seriously the recognition that mapping is not a value neutral activity and consequentially asking how we can work with participants to map in a participatory way that does not determine *a priori* what mapping constitutes methodologically." (Sanderson 2007:125)

Participatory cartographies can work with participatory action research (PAR) methods. My research used dialogue with participants and applied:

a. Participatory Mapping

Following increasing debate within fields of critical cartography and critical spatial practice, I understand participatory mapping as a process of 'spatial knowledge co-production' that has the aim of producing place that contributes to the analysis and expansion of the 'room of manoeuvre' for those typically disenfranchised from such processes (known as the "poor") (Allen et.al 2015).

“...thus, moving beyond more instrumental positions, that emphasise the use of participatory mapping in poverty reduction policies (Brock Karen & Mcgee Rosemary, 2002), and acknowledging the pitfalls of endorsing it as yet another tyrannical process seeking to build consensus, while under-theorising power relations (Cooke Bill & Kothari Uma, 2001; Kindon et al.,2007)” (Allen et.al 2015: 261)

This participatory mapping exercise assumes that as individual subjectivities (with personal experiences) we all have knowledge to share and contribute to social processes in knowledge construction in territorial situations (criteria such as sense of belonging). Hence, just as ethnography, it favours daily life as vital scenario where inhabiting gains different meanings, making sense of the territory beyond its physical features and uses. This allows to contrast technical and lived versions, understanding how dynamic scales at the local, regional and global level are interdependent (García 2007).

“...mapping becomes a mechanism to reveal multiple and time-based narratives of territories. Instead of merely documenting the changes on the physical form, mapping has the potential to explore people’s memories, trajectories and attachments, thus engaging with the spatial dimensions of social relations, while exploring social relations in space.” (Allen et.al 2015:269)

"To approach the territory from the participatory mapping is to address the relationships and institutional imaginaries, community actors, organisations and individuals in the light of spatial referents. Making evident the role of each one in the social construction of territory, land use, and power relations in territorialised spaces....[...].... the value of the methodology consists in its ability to stimulate conversation and thought exchange that while they are represented graphically, they express the complex relationship between historical, cultural, economic and ecological dimensions and involve different social actors in these fields to make their level of involvement more visible"(García 2007: 1)

All this is done through the production of maps that are understood to be representations of the world, different realities, spaces, places, territories, discursive practices, etc. The process of making a representation comes from knowledge and results in knowledge that did not exist prior to the representation. Map-making and map-use are knowledge processes that are under construction rather than only being transferred. Maps are not neutral objects divorced from social context but rather evolving stories of space and culture where social and spatial relationships are reconfigured. They are not just technical but also political tools and sites of power/knowledge as they are created by someone with a certain knowledge who wants to communicate a particular point of view. They are increasingly being used in decision making processes and can advance interests. Furthermore, maps can reproduce power because as mechanisms of control they legitimise institutional discourses and they contest them when they are used by those who are “under control” (Lambert 2011; Sletto 2013)

b. Maps sketches (mental maps)

Map sketches are a method derived from the geography of perception and everyday activity whereby the subjective image of reality and nature varies greatly from one person to another according to their daily and cultural experiences. This influences their behaviour in these spaces. Perceptions are socially and historically produced and implicated in the relationships between space, power and knowledge (Bosque et.al 1992).

Mental maps are free representations of a particular place drawn without consulting other plans or maps. We should consider analysing what is included and what is not, the areas represented in greater detail and the narratives generated around the preparation. This generates a dynamic knowledge process that gives new meaning to reality. These maps (such as participatory mapping) also help in a cultural mapping exercise with its tangible (local events, industries, distinctive landmarks tangible representations etc.) and intangible representations (values, memories, attitudes and histories staff) (Ben-Ze'ev 2012).

These participatory cartographies allowed me to develop a spatial analysis, which complemented with discursive analysis (section 2.2), enabled me to understand connections and disconnections between what is said and what is done in the place. Thus, understanding whether Ecobarrios discourse and practices were connected was possible with these places production in the city and construction of political and ecological subjects in them.

Over the next few chapters I will explain from a reflexive perspective, how I applied these methods in the field depending on the case and how the experience itself led me to modify the initial methodology. I will do this as I share my findings with the aim of showing how I collected the information during my field work.

Below, I will discuss the ethical considerations when developing this ethnography and explain how I analysed the collected information.

2.1 Ethical considerations and limitations

As in any anthropological study, ethical considerations are always important. The informant's point of view was respected and their requests for anonymity in terms of information or visual records were always accepted. Protecting the privacy and confidentiality of informants is a key priority in scenarios like Colombia where people live amidst political and local tensions. This is true in my case studies, more so in Triángulo territory due to its historical context as I will explain in chapter 6.

Due to the respect and gratitude for the people and communities with whom I worked, I tried carefully not to raise their expectations on what participating in my research could mean to them. Initially, the objectives and purposes of the study were explained to the people and I committed myself to share the results of my investigation at the end of my PhD journey. However, I ended up involved in a situation where I was asked to collaborate on the development of events such as a mapping workshop at Triángulo territory or through my participation in the interinstitutional group of Ecobarrio experiences, on which I expand in Chapters 6 and 7. This led to my more active participation in the processes that I was studying.

I engaged in this type of activity (with them and with institutions) because I considered it to be a human and ethical way to repay their collaboration to my project. I think it was productive because I helped them to 'peacefully' confront internal conflicts they had (but did not discuss) and propose solutions. This generated negotiation and dialogue tools with institutions that enriched the debate on the definition and implementation of programmes within Bogotá's Development plan (as Ecobarrios), taking into account an academic perspective.

Regarding the potential limitations of this research, it is important to mention that in any anthropological study, some 'problems' will arise. These problems comprise social life representation, involvement with the informants, interpretation subjectivity and the ethnographer being an outsider (in relation to the community). These are aspects that cannot be denied and an anthropologist accepts them by arguing that there will always be diverse interpretations of social life and not a unique, objective truth. In this case, reflexivity emerges as a crucial issue that recognises these aspects and learns to work with them by understanding their influences on the research and makes them explicit in the text (Marcus 1995).

Finally, it is worthy of mention that including different scales or levels of analysis into the research (global, urban and local - in one leaders and the other inhabitants) may become a limiting factor because it is strenuous to appropriately study them all. Nevertheless, I talk about different scales because it was the project's interest, as a first approach to the subject, to provide an overview of the inter-scalar dynamics (emphasising the role of specific actors such as certain institutional officials, community leaders and residents in the neighbourhoods). My aim with the latter was to open more specific thematic windows, studying in greater depth, for instance, inhabitants' daily life in order to incentivise further

research. Lack of time and weak security conditions that made deeper study of daily life more difficult led to this decision.

2.2 Following trajectories through discursive and spatial analysis

Given that Ecobarrios is understood as a place-based discursive practice, discourse analysis (DA), spatial analysis (SA) and a process of triangulation were required to analyse and interpret information collected. This implies that as a discourse - through narratives - it transforms into concrete place-based practices of thought and action that lead to new subjects and subjectivities derived from institutional or local projects; subjects and subjectivities that may even act and be part of resistance processes and create new identities. It is important to note that even if there is no separation but a constant and direct relationship between discourse and practice, here the analysis is developed 'separately' as a way to facilitate understanding³⁴.

Throughout the analysis discourses, representations and narratives will be understood as:

"...Tales of a sequence of events that are important to the narrator ... [...] ... forms of speech known and used in daily interaction ... these have a beginning, a middle and an end, as well as a logic that at least makes sense to the narrator... so, they are temporary and logical "(Coffey and Atkinson 2003).

Narratives reflect language and discursive practices. This universe of narratives is contextual, historical and cultural and allows us to realise that changes may occur at a social and cultural level. They are also used to understand the historicity of identities and subjectivities and their construction processes. This is done in order to understand the subjects by their way of speaking and acting in their everyday life (Herlinghaus 2002; Tuiider 2007). Narratives also are analysed to understand the production of place since they focus on details of how local populations construct perceptions, places, experiences and cultural values (Low and Lawrence 2003). Hence, their study implies a process of de-construction, interpretation and analysis. This will be addressed in the following chapters, for instance, when I refer to documents, interviews and life stories in particular. Thus, bearing in mind these narratives will allow me to de-construct place-based discursive practices associated to Ecobarrios in each case.

Regarding the DA, there does not exist an only explanation since different disciplines such as psychology, linguistics, sociology, political science and communication have attempted to provide one. In addition, researcher's qualitative and/or quantitative interests as well as

³⁴ Based on Foucault (1986), Escobar (1998a), Rojas (2001), Haidar (2000) and Tuiider (2007).

depth of analysis influence this explanation (Jociles 2005; Sayago 2014). In this case, in order to understand how projects aiming to build eco-political subjects under the notion of Ecobarrios were conceived and developed, DA was implemented from a critical and post-structuralist anthropological perspective.

From this standpoint, discourses are considered relevant as strategic instruments in the development of power relations and as instruments of passive or active struggle (organised as social movements or passive in daily life), recognising the real power of the word in action (Escobar, Álvarez and Dagnino 2001). Hence, when discourses and discursive practices are going to be analysed, what is said, what is not said, how it is said, when it is said, who is saying it and who they said it must be taken into account (Haidar 2000). Likewise, considering the historical context is essential to understand discourse dynamics and the power relations framing for each particular case since from this perspective: "... language is a form of social practice that is historically situated and dialectical to the social context, that is, language is both socially shaped and socially shaping..." (Low and Lawrence 2003: 395, 396) Besides: "...it is through texts that social control and social domination are exercised – through the everyday social action of language. Thus it is necessary to establish a critical language awareness to uncover the social and political goals of everyday discourse." (Low and Lawrence 2003: 396)

De-construction, classification, re-construction and interpretation are all part of post-structuralist methods for this type of DA because they permit to critically and reflectively unpack and understand these politically loaded discursive practices in context (Reynoso 1991; Sayago 2014). The ethnographic exercise complements this process perfectly as it provides a better understanding of the context, the relations and discourse in action (Jociles 2005).

Within this framework, the DA must focus on:

"...knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities, relations and practices. It also considers how world views, subjects, identities and practices are constructed through the use of discourse." (Paltridge 2012:14)

In this research the aim of DA is to understand the ways in which discourse through oral and written sources is mediated, reiterated and transmitted (the rhetoric effects) in social and institutional interactions and how it is assessed and given new meanings over time through every day practices and administrative routines (Schatz 2009:82). In order to analyse what I observed in the field, and more specifically, what each of the actors interviewed had to say through a process of de-construction, classification, re-construction and interpretation of Ecobarrios narratives, I went through the following phases:

Firstly, I collated a description of the historical circumstances where these narratives were developed and employed, highlighting by whom. Secondly, I continued with identification of discourses which depend on the actors (institutional employees, local leaders and inhabitants of these neighbourhoods). For this I had to take into account that in their expression dimension, discourses feature the following elements: discursive objects that refer to issues to which actors frequently refer to in their statements (i.e. agricultural practices, climate change etc); discursive categories³⁵ that refer to key concepts or categories used frequently by the actors (poverty, sustainability etc.); and finally, discursive strategies that refer to techniques, mechanisms and practices referenced (urban agriculture, recycling etc) (Escobar 1998a; Jociles 2005).

This approach to discourse analysis as a discursive practice of representation is not merely based on texts; it also takes the interaction of environment components into account (institutions, actors and social, cultural, economic, local and traditional skills). This showed those places from where reality was represented through the use of representation regimes. These regimes are understood to be meeting places of languages in this case institutional, local, traditional, including of resistance, about others and oneself; where subjects, subjectivities and identities are constructed in the middle of power relations ³⁶(Escobar 1998a).

This analysis took into account texts and narrative patterns linked to the behaviour of discursive categories, as follows: repetition (saturation); hesitation; redundancy; and silence (what is not said or implied) (Oslender 1999). These patterns also allowed to delve into these discursive formations, understanding the person that speaks or writes and the person

³⁵ Authors like Foucault, Derrida and Bourdieu say that these categories are social derivations and symbolic power instruments with significant political involvement (Tuider 2007).

³⁶ Social actions carried out as part of these representation regimes are framed in the rationality that: "...world visions, social practices, moral values and legal regulations in society are interwoven. Social rationality is defined through thinking forms and social action rules established within economic, political and ideological spheres and expressed in social imaginaries, moral norms, institutional arrangements, production methods and consumption patterns, giving meaning to social organisation, legitimising certain actions and guiding social practices towards certain goals through socially constructed means" (Leff 2011:33)

that does not, for whom, from where (institution, civil society, academic field), what is said about what is thought, (which is then contrasted in spatial analysis with what it does) and what can be said and what cannot (taboos, the forbidden) (Paltridge 2012; Haidar 2000).

The following considerations were also taken into account in order to understand construction of identifications (individual and collective) at the level of discourse and verbal traces. Identities are constructed in inter-action and they are produced and reflexively embedded in language. It was important to look at how experiences were described (through meanings and cultural values, etc.) and explained (then oriented through action). I considered (Tate 2007): discursive identity positioning, for example, a black woman says "especially elderly white people they will first ask you what you are" and places her identity as ambiguous to the gaze of Whiteness because of her light skin colour. Translation as reflexivity, the woman says "So the mere fact that they ask what you are means that they can see that you're different and that you're not like them", so as to translate and reflexively apply the meaning of her discursive identity positioning. Identity re-positioning, the woman identifies and therefore repositions herself as black during the rest of the interview.

Primary and secondary sources were considered in both cases for the analysis of documents and life histories, and ethnographic interviews, the information gathered through participant observation and exercises of participatory cartography were considered in order to analyse government officials', community leaders' and neighbourhood dwellers' narratives.

With regard to spatial and place-making analysis, it was undertaken in conjunction with the analysis of discourses. Speech is historically and spatially embedded which means that we can talk about discursive practices and analyse the interaction between language and practices (Bauriedl 2007). As explained in chapter 1, my intention is to understand how these eco-political subjects and (discursive and practical) subjectivity projects travelled and manifested in practice and in those places where actions are implemented and also form the basis for action by the subject. A further objective was to understand whether any resonance existed between what people said and did (their daily practices and behaviours) and this way of defining the subject and identity (as eco-political). This aimed to investigate interactions between social action, place-based discourses and practices in the social production of space (Richardson and Jensen 2003; Agnes 2012). Therefore, interaction between discourse and place-making was observed throughout: "...in how one informed or prefigured the other's development, how action-guiding narratives were recounted in spatial terms and how people enacted the agency of the narratives in and through the places" (Shuk-mei 2012:1)

Therefore, for SA I looked into how people used and gave meaning to places through dialectical relationships between actions – material (institutional and every day) practices³⁷ and symbolic – (institutional and cultural) meanings (which imply re-presentations). Adopting this approach helped me to understand if social agents gave meaning and appropriated places through socio-spatial practices derived from these eco-political subjects construction projects and if these subject construction processes derived processes of identification, of identities construction (Richardson and Jensen 2003; Agnes 2012). Thus, I took into account not just the actions but also what kind of values (cultural, symbolic, institutional - derived from Ecobarrios) people placed on their daily activities, and the way they described, defined and identified in relation to their surroundings (environment / nature). For this part of the analysis, I took into account, for example, information gathered through participant observation and participatory mapping and maps sketch exercises that allowed me to be closer to what I have described.

Through the SA, I tried to understand the interaction between what is said (discourse) and what is done (practice) by considering the stories I selected for each Ecobarrios trajectory (institutional and local), paying particular attention to information collected from participatory cartographies. As seen in the forthcoming analytical chapters, both selected stories and cartography activities enabled me to analyse this dynamic related to the construction of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities from the perspective of space, place-making processes and the ways of being in place. Those stories and cartographic exercises allowed me to access eco-political discursive practices of the different actors (residents, leaders and government officials) developed at diverse scales (individual, collective, neighbourhoods, city, country and planet), taking into account the multi-scale relationship that exists among them (Salazar 2007). The multi-scale monitoring was done taking into consideration interaction dynamics between discourses, institutional and everyday practices and their occurrence amongst power relations and places (tension and/or negotiation) and in a scenario where projects of subject construction are implemented by structures such as institutions and subjects resist through action or generate alternatives to them (as part of politics of/from place). I will delve into this in my analytical chapters.

It is worth noting that for the discursive and spatial study of these Ecobarrios trajectories and their contextualisation, the information collected through sources review and

³⁷ It is important to say that material culture and objects are not seen as a reflection of social relations. But instead they are understood as active elements in their structuration, as a network of meanings, and as an active communication system that is meaningfully constituted. (Hodder 1992:83)

ethnographic work described in the methodology was taken into account. In order to avoid bias and to build confidence in the trustworthiness of the research, UEA uses triangulation as a strategy to combine different but complementary sources or lines of evidence (for example interviewees, historical documents such as newspapers and others) and methods (such as historical, quantitative and ethnographic)³⁸. In this research, for example, information gathered from historical sources helped to contextualise the ethnographic exercise while cartographic activities helped to complement and strengthen field observations. The following chapters contain this discursive, practical and spatial analysis combined with triangulation of said information.

I now turn to tell the story of these stories that helped me to understand the trajectories of two eco-political subject projects called Ecobarrio.

³⁸ For social studies this triangulation enables better understanding of the entire context for analysis and interpretation (Laws, Harper and Marcus 2003).

Chapter 3. Writing about Ecobarrios: Institutional Documents of Eco-political Subjects and Subjectivities

In the following analytical chapters (3 and 4), I will discuss why Ecobarrios as a municipal programme can be interpreted as the outcome of planning hybrid. In doing so, Ecobarrios' public history will be reconstructed not just from public documents available but mainly taking into account the cultural representations, meanings and narratives of the institutional actors that were involved in the design and implementation of this programme. My aim is to examine how and why this programme dealt with the construction of eco-political subjects and subjectivities in Bogotá.

I claim that Ecobarrios can be understood as a typical outcome of 'planning hybrid'. In using this term, I draw on Said's (1983) travelling theory that makes reference to the diverse dynamics of displacement and implementation of ideas in diverse historical scenarios. This implies that when urban planning and policy ideas travel they are not simply adopted rather reinterpreted by local agents, resulting in new planning hybrid models and conceptions of what desirable processes of urbanisation might be (Brenner et.al 2010; Robinson and Parnell 2011). From an anthropological approach, examining Ecobarrios in this way opens the possibility of interpreting the tensions and relations between the global and the local, space and place-making process and subjects and identities construction processes (Escobar 2000; Robinson and Parnell 2011).

In order to provide **historical contextualisation** of Ecobarrios programme, the following discussion explores its institutional trajectory and how space was conceived. I reconstruct the programme's public history and discourse, examining discursive objects, categories and strategies, place-based practices and social dynamics that government officials involved in Ecobarrios conception and execution adopted to produce eco-political subjects and subjectivities. This historical contextualisation also served to establish a time frame for the programme's history, mapping places, actors –new key informants - and projects developed in Ecobarrios neighbourhoods.

Primary and secondary sources from March to May 2012 were revised for this historical contextualisation, including widely read newspapers such (according to statistics of general studies of mass media) as 'El Tiempo' and 'El Espectador' at the National Library (see annex 1), which include a section dedicated to the capital city. Surprisingly, these sources only covered the Ecobarrios programme to a limited extent. Other newspapers such as 'Hoy' and 'Accion Conjunta', which I was able to access through institutional actors'

archives, offered some specific articles about the programme. Most importantly, I had access to unique materials and programme documents and urban planning texts of the time (such as Bogotá development plans between 1998-2001 and 2001-2004) through the life stories of those who designed and implemented Ecobarrios.

On secondary sources I had access to books and documents in libraries at universities in Bogotá such as Los Andes, Javeriana, Nacional and Externado and also at public libraries such as Luis Angel Arango. Furthermore, and again due to the institutional life stories and interviews with officials, I had access to books and documents on urban planning in Bogotá.

Based on this first stage of the methodology and with the aim to understand how and why Ecobarrios emerged as a programme, I could do a historical reconstruction. First, I describe and explain Bogotá's planning context for the period 2001 – 2003.

3.1 The historical planning scenario of Ecobarrio

Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, with a population estimated at 8 million in 2011, has historically played a key role in the concentration of national production activities (particularly services), jobs, and capital and in the export of manufactured and agro-industrial products.³⁹ As the main city in the country (in political, economic and demographic terms) Bogotá has been perceived as a: "...constellation of relationships that are constituted by historical and discursive formations...some of these relations respond to specific government projects that sought to generate practices and changing, dynamic and specific social orders..." (Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008:94). As a consequence, Bogotá's planning history has always been closely linked with that of the country as a whole.

The history of the armed conflict in Colombia, both in rural and urban areas, has been associated with various factors such as drug trafficking, the agrarian problem, the pressure of the international context, the limitations of political participation, the territorial and institutional fragmentation of the state (Zuleta 2006). The National Historical Memory Centre has defined 4 periods that refer to the history of the armed conflict in the country. The first period occurs between 1948 and 1982 and in this one the transition of a violence of the traditional political parties (liberal and conservative) to the violence of the subversive groups takes place. The proliferation of guerrillas and the rise of agrarian, workers and popular urban social movements, which were attacked. The repression of these movements reached its highest level with the assassination of the liberal leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, on

³⁹Between 2003 and 2006, the city's GNP grew 10,3% annually, representing 25% of the national GNP, in spite of which, rates unemployment and labour informality were high (Dávila 1996; Rojas and Aristizabal 2004).

April 9th 1948, giving rise to a series of popular protests that were known as the Bogotazo. Which marked the beginning of the time known for many as Violence, as referred to by several authors (Grupo de Memoria Histórica 2013).

In order to resolve these issues of violence, the National Front emerged between 1958 and 1974, where the idea was that liberals and conservatives take turns in their periods in power. Which under the influence of the anticommunist logics of the Cold War, a concept of security was developed, which worked as a basis for the strategy of the Public Force to exclude political forces other than the liberal and conservative. In this scenario, in 1965, the former communist self-defences were transformed into the Armed Forces of Colombia - FARC. Likewise, in the 60's, the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Popular Liberation Army (EPL) emerged, many of them conformed by radicalism, academic well-trained urban youths sympathetic to the Cuban and Chinese revolution, who considered themselves political subjects (Ocampo 1994).

The discourse in the urban union world was more sectarian and radical than in the rural one, which is why they were persecuted more in the cities by the forces of the State, impeding its empowerment. However, the Guerrilla Movement 19 of April - M19, in response to the fraud of the presidential elections of April 19th 1970, arose in the 70's, giving power to the actors of the armed conflict in centres of power like the capital. As a consequence, until the end of the 70's, during the presidency of Turbay, a Security Statute was established, in order to safeguard the security of the State and protect the lives of it's citizens. This led to abuses, such as disappearances, torture and detentions by the Public Force, which was rejected by the leftist political groups, because these mechanisms were against human rights. Simultaneously, all of this was generating dynamics of displacement and increased urbanisation, which affected cities such as Bogotá (Ocampo 1994; Historical Memory Group 2013).

This led to the second period of armed conflict between 1982 and 1996. This time is associated with the emergence of paramilitary groups (related with the extreme right), growth, territorial expansion and political projection of the guerrillas, the spread of drug trafficking, the weakening of the State, the decline of the Cold War along with the positioning of drug trafficking on the global agenda, the attempts of peace processes and the new political constitution of 1991 (Ocampo 1994, Historical Memory Group 2013). This was a period in which the armed conflict worsened and events occurred, such as the taking of the Palace of Justice in Bogotá by the M19 in 1985. Consequently, this resulted in a greater forced displacement, which accelerated the process of urbanisation in the country, in cities

such as Bogotá, increasing problems such as misery and hunger in the informal settlements that were established on the edge of the city.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, (in the midst of voluntary and forced internal migration – due to violence in rural areas) Bogotá was facing a severe crisis characterised by corruption, poverty, unemployment, insecurity and reduced/limited access to public services (water and energy). Books around the world describe Bogotá as “the city of fear” or “the jungle city” and in the words of Julio César Sánchez, Mayor between 1986 and 1988, many of its inhabitants perceived it as an “unlivable hell” (Dávila 2004). And it was hardly surprising; by then, the city had been through an assault by a guerrilla group of the Justice Palace (1985), elimination of the left party “Unión Patriótica”, assassination of presidential candidates such as Luis Carlos Gálán (1989), Carlos Pizarro (1990), Alvaro Gómez (1995) and a terrorist wave sponsored by drug trafficking cartels (Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008).

At the same time, a series of events that would play a significant role in the city’s transformation took place. During Barco government peace dialogues with the M19 resumed and agreement was reached in 1990. Since 1990, a neoliberal regime began in Colombia in shape of a series of policies under President Cesar Gaviria’s administration of (1990 – 1994). The 1991 National Constitution re-defined the role of the State, establishing a political decentralisation and democratisation process, a pluralist regime of political parties, foreign investment and the strengthening of citizenship/citizen’s rights. In addition, neoliberal principles were applied through trade liberalisation policies, which included encouragement of private investment in public services and infrastructure. The Constitution also established important democratic and participatory reforms that were first implemented in the late 1980s related to citizen control of administrative policies, popular election of municipal mayors⁴⁰ and creation of local administrative boards in line with social justice ideals. Given its emphasis on the environment and collective rights, it was called the ecological and multicultural constitution (article 79) (Hataya 2010; Hernández 2011).

Among other instruments, spatial policies (territory based) and reforms, the extension of the mayoral period to four years was about to influence Bogotá’s transformation. This would allow mayors to implement their government programmes through development plans which consisted of programmes and projects (law 152 of 1994 –Development Plan Organic Law). This generated a greater sense of connection and representation between them and their

⁴⁰This type of programatic election obliged mayors to make campaign proposals or mandatory government development plans.

electorate. The city's Organic Statute⁴¹ issued in 1993, established that Mayors would have more control over the city, allowing them to supervise the actions of the executive power. Additionally, financial resources generated from selling the municipally owned energy company were invested in the administrative apparatus (Gilbert and Dávila 2001; Dávila 2004; Gilbert 2008).

This led to the third period of the conflict, between 1996 and 2005, in which the armed conflict intensified, through the expansion of the paramilitaries, the guerrillas and the fight against drug trafficking. In this period the war reached its maximum expression and levels of victimisation. This made the violence increase, through the use of mechanisms such as intimidation, massacres, death and exile. Thus Colombia became the second country in the world, with respect to forced displacement, with a greater exodus of people, mostly to urban centres. As a result, the problems of poverty, illegality and vulnerability in the urban periphery continued to increase, causing the government to start developing relocation programmes, since many lived in what the government called high risk zones (Centro de Memoria Histórica 2013; Zuleta 2016).

This brought changes to Bogotá, in a scenario where at a global level, organisations such as United Nations (UN), World Bank and ECLAC had put into global circulation categories such as 'sustainable development', 'governance', 'participative democracy', 'self-regulated city', 'comprehensive popular district development' (which would be adapted in diverse ways according to national and local contexts as those of Colombia and Bogotá); and with the influence of the 1991 Constitution, market and neoliberal ideals, the Organic Statute, the Land Use Plan⁴² and progressive administrations of successive mayors⁴³. The latter included measures to strengthen the local sector in order to work in harmony with the central sector, by developing more specific tasks. In addition, in the mid-1990s, as part of

⁴¹ The Organic Statute – Decree 1421 of 1993, defined the special regime for the capital district of Santafé de Bogotá. In line with article 322 of the Constitution, Bogotá was organized as a capital district with autonomy to manage its interests. Furthermore, the purpose of this political, administrative and fiscal Statute was to promote the comprehensive territorial development through participatory processes and the improvement of the quality of life of the inhabitants (Gilbert 2008)

⁴² Land Use Plan or Territorial Ordering Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento territorial – POT): Through the law 388 of 1997 – Land Use Law – the government obliged all municipalities in Colombia to develop and approve a city ordinance plan by 2000. In compliance with this law, Bogotá approved a ten-year plan in 2000: "POT introduced the concept of partial that is local plans for public or private initiative, with which the government intends to eliminate the property-by-property development process and instead create an integrated approach to planning localities. As well as their physical planning objectives, the local plans set out the distribution of development responsibilities and benefits between the different landowners and the local authority, including partnership between the sectors (private - public) where appropriate." (Ortiz and Zetter 2004:190). The purpose of this plan was to address the city at its metropolitan level and its relations with the region and environment through participation and sustainable development. The POT incorporates the city's legal frame, the land regime that bestows rights and obligations tools and owners, and urban development planning, management and financing instruments (Viviescas 2001).

⁴³ Jaime Castro 1992 – 1994; Antanas Mockus 1995 – 1997; Paul Bromberg 1997; Enrique Peñalosa 1998 – 2000; Antanas Mockus 2001 – 2003; Luis Eduardo Garzón 2004 – 2007.

the decentralisation dynamics, private institutions called 'urban curators' (curadurias urbanas) were created and became responsible for issuing development permits based on the Land Use Plan⁴⁴. Privatisation and decentralisation of public services such as energy, education, health and communication were implemented simultaneously. In addition, a process of urban infrastructure improvement (particularly in transport sector) started in 1998 with funding from the World Bank (Zetter 2004; Gilbert 2008).

During this period, several mayors' initiatives led to significant improvements in terms of city planning, infrastructure and safety. For example, a rapid mass transport system, Transmilenio (Bus Rapid Transit system) was launched under the Peñalosa administration in 2000. Among other reasons, this happened thanks to investment in areas unrelated to public utilities such as public space, education, citizen culture, environment, health and planning (since, in theory, the physical and institutional urban planning legacy from the 1960 had planned for future growth). However, this perspective, maybe too optimistic as stated by Dávila (2005) (it does not take into account that the informal city grew faster than the planned city), considers that these changes were made possible by mayors working with highly qualified professionals interested in social issues and who had a strong sense of the public sphere. This also made implementing the theoretically participative planning process possible. Hence, this implied a discourse favouring transparency, State management and action efficiency and exercise of citizen rights (Escobar 1998a).

These interventions allowed Bogotá to become regionally and internationally recognised. For instance, in 2002 the UN praised Bogotá as a 'model city' because it had changed to a more democratic and ethical government system, for one, and also due to some interventions like Transmilenio that improved the quality of life of all the citizens, thereby providing an example for other cities (Gilbert and Dávila 2001; Gilbert and Garcés 2008).

The fourth period was between 2005 and 2012, it is characterised by the strongest military, political and legal offensive of the State against the guerrillas in the history of Colombia and negotiations for the demobilisation of paramilitaries. This began after Álvaro Uribe was elected president in 2002, implementing his policies of defence and democratic security, which led to his re-election in 2006. In this period the dynamics of forced displacement

⁴⁴ Urban Curator offices were established as part of the decentralisation processes of administrative functions fostered by the 1991 Constitution (decree 2150 of 1995), which is atypical in the world and distinctive Colombian law (Baptiste and Lora 2003). Curators issue building licences, deciding what type of construction individuals can carry out in their own properties and what type of business premises may or may not operate in a given place. This implies that property owners have a pre-existing right (property) but it is limited by common interest which prevails over that of the individual as part of urban norms. Their creation: "...aimed to ease congestion and improve local planning decentralising this function to the private sector" (Baptiste and Lora 2003:35).

persisted, which is reflected in the populations dynamics of the urban peripheries (Centro de Memoria Histórica 2013).

3.1.1 The administrations of Antanas Mockus

Between 1997 and 2007, one of the most surprising electoral victories was that of Antanas Mockus, an independent candidate outside the traditional political party structure (Gilbert 2008). Mockus, the son of Lithuanian immigrants, is a Colombian philosopher, mathematician, academic and politician. He has a Master's degree in philosophy from Colombia's National University and an honorary doctorate from Paris University. He was rector of the National University between 1990 and 1993. He served as Bogotá's mayor between 1995 and 1998 for the first time; he resigned in 1998 to pursue his aspiration as a presidential candidate but joined Ms. Noemi Sanín as vice-presidential candidate. Between 2001 and 2003 returned to the Mayor's office. Finally, he unsuccessfully ran for President of Colombia in 2006 and 2010 (with the Green Party).

Throughout his political and academic career, Mr. Mockus has been quite a particular character, whose actions have been founded on using pedagogy and symbols emphasising culture and education. During his two mayoral periods, he developed campaigns such as "hora zanahoria" which he defined as a civic culture norm that restricted night clubs opening hours and alcohol sales. Also, he dressed up as 'super cívico', wearing a comic hero suit with colours of the Bogotá flag and a Superman cape, to fight to recover public spaces (see photo 6)

Photo 6. Antanas Mockus
Source: personal file Ome 2013



For all the above, his role as Mayor did not go unnoticed and stayed in the collective memory and daily activities of many who witnessed it. During his two periods as Mayor (1995 – 1998 and 2001 – 2003), he introduced substantial changes such as the promotion of a civic culture - the basis for his policies and programmes - citizen participation and

promotion of local environmental sustainability in order to turn Bogotá into an organised, productive and competitive city (Mockus 2001).

In particular, Mockus' terms of office were characterised by three main aspects. Firstly, he used pedagogy as a government strategy or 'device' in his key programme of Civic Education: Civic Culture which Dr. Mockus defined as "...norms of interaction between strangers in the urban and social space...this served to foster an organised city based on solidarity through organisation of its citizens, creating collective consciousness and raising their city awareness" (Antanas, personal communication [pc], 20/06/12). This aimed at 'helping' government officials⁴⁵ and citizens to control their behaviour and actions, civilising and changing daily aggressive practices and increasing their sense of belonging to the city. Mr. Mockus sometimes combined his educational measures with other control mechanisms that became reality as legal norms, such as enforcing early closing times for night clubs and bars in the frame of the "hora zanahoria" initiative. Secondly, he called for rejection of traditional politics characterised by patronage systems and corruption with the goal of "turning political activity into education". Finally, he stressed on government rationalisation, stating that to take any measure one had to understand the context of the problems in order to avoid making the same mistakes of previous administrations. Thus, an Urban Culture Observatory was established to carry out studies on transport, public institutions, health, violence, and democratic culture to facilitate understanding, analysing and measuring urban behaviour and citizen attitudes and perceptions. Such rationality was also revealed in the promotion of participatory planning that would be reflected in devising local plans and programmes in which neighbourhood inhabitants were taught to plan and develop their own works. Therefore, civic coexistence and security⁴⁶ emerged as objects of analysis and intervention (Velásquez, 2003).

The aforementioned approach was implemented during Mr. Mockus' first mayoral period through his "Building the City - For the Bogotá that we Want" development plan ("Formar Ciudad – Por la Bogotá que Queremos") between 1995 – 1998. Core ideas spun around culture of citizenship, public space, environment, social progress, urban productivity and institutional legitimacy. This plan was based on the hypothesis that the cultural, moral and legal systems regulating public behaviour were failing in what was one of the most violent and dangerous cities in the world (Sáenz 2007; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008). Hence, civic culture defined as:

⁴⁵ Government officials were appointed on personal merit, not political recommendation.

⁴⁶ The idea that underpins this proposal is that in order to have security in cities is not enough to increase the capacity of the police or modify laws etc. What is important is to change human behaviour through a mechanism such as civic culture (Mockus 2001).

“...the set of minimum shared customs, actions and rules that generates a sense of belonging, facilitate urban coexistence and lead to respect for common heritage and a recognition of citizen rights and duties” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 1998:3)

became a strategy to change that situation, emphasising on the importance of norms for coexistence, and on the basis of urban civility discourse on ethics and moral issues.

This programme's main objective was instrumental in deeply changing citizens' way of life and behaviour, showing them how to regulate their own actions, as well as those of others around them, through pedagogical campaigns performed by mime artists who, without any words or shouts, taught passers-by not to throw rubbish and cross streets only at pedestrian crossings and respect traffic lights. Also, it aimed at increasing citizens' sense of belonging, generating and strengthening a urban identity and culture through creation of subjectivities from urban transformation and area recuperation, and generation of 'pleasant and ordered spaces' (Brand 2001; Sáenz 2007; Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008). This plan also aimed at making Bogotá a more competitive city through economic, social and cultural progress in partnership with the private sector (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 1998).

In this way, I agree with Salcedo and Zeiderman (2008) that civic culture became an instrument to address problems connected to the city's behaviour regulating system, measuring levels of city rules transgression and compliance. Furthermore, it is clear that it also intended to create a particular type of individual that, according to the employed discourses, had to be 'good citizens', in other words, obedient, aware, responsible and skilled' to manage coexistence and behaviour codes, and the 'culture of legality'. Thus, they would be able to exhibit 'good behaviour'; they would know how to deal with shared skills, actions and minimum rules, which would, in turn, generate a sense of belonging or identification with the city, and promote citizen recognition of rights and duties, facilitating their coexistence, peaceful problem solving and respect for common heritage.

Furthermore, as Sáenz also explored (2005, 2007, 2011), government and technologies of the self were then implemented through institutional practices. This in order to 'mould and transform Bogotáños' undisciplined, uneducated and aggressive' character and their individual and collective practices and interactions so that they would learn 'to respect and comply with the law'; willingly adding it to their daily life, incorporating it into their cultural repertoires (through social regulation), and eventually, 'self-regulating'. Control, policing and vigilance mechanisms and procedures developed within the 'educational city' framework and under the slogan 'life is sacred'. Therefore, a Sub-secretary for Coexistence and Citizen

Security was created to implement pedagogical measures (with a pedagogical balance⁴⁷) such as the 'hora zanahoria' (nightclubs opening hours restriction), and others based on sanctions, social disapproval and personal guilt. With regard to civil service, programmes such as "every government official, is a Mayor" ("de cada funcionario un Alcalde") that served to raise awareness about their responsibility were put into practice. In order to recover public space and for citizens to democratically redefine it, the administration promoted measures such as generation of "orderly spaces" (e.g. parks), promoting good behaviour by means of material and symbolic urban renovation intervention actions.

Thus, Mr. Mockus, in association with his team, implemented a 'new hybrid political rationality' in accordance with and complementing what authors such as Brand (2001), Sáenz (2007), Salcedo and Zeiderman (2008), and Pérez (2010) have stated was needed to plan and design what they called a 'dreamed city'. This 'new rationality' is considered to be a theoretical/practical 'hybrid' since it reveals influences from different discourses associated with categories and objects such as economic, instrumental administrative and technical approaches (derived from modernity) and that of sustainability (derived from postmodernity - Leff 2011). The aforesaid discourses, which mediated between market forces and State objectives, were appropriated in such a manner that a different approach to government was generated.

This urban government technology used an instrumental, modern (vs. 'uncivilised world') rationality which articulates global discourses such as democracy, citizenship and public space (also pertinent to the national context through key instruments like the 1991 Constitution), attaching crucial importance to the cultural and spatial dimension, by means of striking innovative practices (far from traditional politics). It involved using academic knowledge and technical-scientific discourses, combining perspectives from the human sciences with measuring instruments from the 'hard' sciences, which allowed for holistic planning and sought to order a 'chaotic reality', establishing priorities and strategies and demonstrating results through technical arguments that included the use of figures. This rationality also sought to implement new subjectivities - citizens with urban identity-, using government instruments, pedagogical devices and spatial interventions.

Mr. Mockus' overall governance project was based on a 'behaviourist, functionalist and contractual' conception of culture. It involved approaching and transforming individual and collective values, behaviours, beliefs and habits, aligning them with what were legally

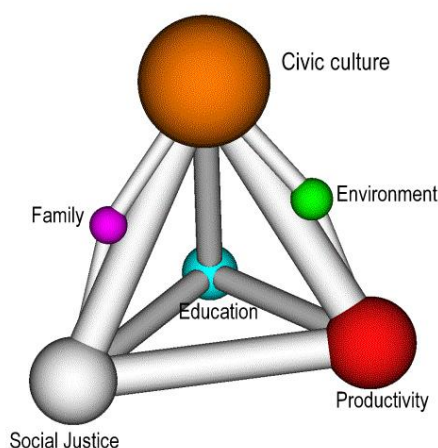
⁴⁷ The objective was that people learn from participatory processes and measures – where they were taught by example - and according to them change their behaviours (Mockus 2002).

permitted, and facilitating authority action and norm compliance. Thus, this project did not only promote education, communication and self-regulation but also citizen and State mutual regulation and co-responsibility to solve Bogotá's problems through responsible and caring participation mechanisms (Sáenz 2005). This, in a context where Colombia:

“...seemed to be falling into the hands of drug-traffickers and guerrillas, both symbols of absence of law and security, an academic appears to lead a crusade for order and law from Bogotá. Firmly believing in European postulates that state that peaceful coexistence between strangers is made possible only by means of civility agreements and compliance with common norms, he seeks to mould Bogotáños' behaviours through non-authoritarian law imposition and horizontal internalisation of regulation mechanisms” (Salcedo and Zeiderman 2008: 87)

All of the above mentioned is applied during Mockus second term of office within “Bogotá: to Live on the same Side” plan (“Bogotá: Para Vivir todos del Mismo Lado” 2001 – 2003) which gave the words ‘public management’ a new meaning. This plan’s purpose was to make the city more ‘cultured’ and ‘educated’, attractive to investors, economically competitive and effective in its administrative management, beautifying the city’s infrastructure and environment. Also, this plan aimed at (as did the government programme) collectively building an inclusive and fair city whose core concern are human beings and culture (see figure 1) (Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital 2004).

Figure 1. Government Programme Axis 2001 – 2003
Source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2001a



Specifically, this plan’s civic culture objective (first objective with that of the democratic culture associated to respect for the common good) were the most important and were linked to the need to:

“Increase voluntary norm compliance, capacity to enter into and fulfil agreements and mutual help to act in accordance with one’s conscience, in harmony with the

law. Promote communication and solidarity between citizens” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2001a:6)

In order to do this, policies and programmes to promote individual and social self-regulation, participation and peaceful problem solving methods were implemented. For example, citizen education projects and exercises were carried out to support citizen organisation through establishment and strengthening of local, zonal, neighbourhood, and youth organisations.

Also it was the first time that citizens were asked to participate in setting the city's development goals. Citizens meetings at neighbourhood level empowered and allowed them more participation in the design, execution and control of the neighbourhood's development plans so that they prioritised their community's needs. Finally, this administration emphasised the JACs⁴⁸ role as key actors in connecting the institutions, their programmes and policies with citizens.

Secondly, we find the productivity objective associated to the competitive city and need to: “...increase sustainable wealth generation and collective prosperity in the city and region, by means of the joint actions of the public and private sectors” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2001a:6). This fully agrees with what is specified in the Urban Development Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial - POT)⁴⁹, which promotes a productive city's consolidation through its insertion in modern globalisation economies and infrastructure improvement. In this regard, it is worth highlighting that both Mr. Mockus development plan and government programme were framed in a scenario where POT implementation also took place.

Objectives addressing social justice, education, environment, family and children, and public management come next in this development plan. Regarding the environmental objective (third one), it was established that the plan would seek to:

“Sustainably improve the city's environmental factors emphasising on their social impact with regard to people's health, ecosystems sustainability and district's productivity, and culturally strengthen respectful behaviours towards natural and built environments in order to build a new society-environment relationship” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2001a:7)

⁴⁸ Since 1958, the Colombian government established Juntas de Accion Comunal - JACs in order to allow neighbourhood communities' participation in their territory development. These civil organizations work as a means for dialogue between citizens and the government at national, departmental, municipal and city scale. According to official sources their aim is to create spaces of participation in order to promote development in neighbourhoods, “corregimientos” and “veredas”; for instance, through the design and implementation of development plans and projects (IDPAC 2010).

⁴⁹ The POT is a mandatory city planning instrument that categorised territory as the physical and spatial basis for policies programmes and projects application to be revised every ten years.

In order to fulfil this objective, awareness programmes and campaigns focused on respect for defenseless domestic animals and recycling were implemented. This aimed at promoting (like in the POT), sustainable environmental development according to the agendas of the international Kyoto and Rio de Janeiro agreements, law 99 on sustainable development, and natural resources conservation and preservation in accordance with the POT (Mockus 2001).

I emphasise on these three objectives because they help to contextualise the Ecobarrios programme. As previously mentioned, this framework presents a process of discursive and practical hybridisation between planning discourses and environmentalisms that were appropriated in a particular manner (and not fully) according to case specificities and depending on the people involved (as is going to be shown later in the anthropological analysis). Specifically, the discursive analysis of these three objectives as well as of Mockus' government programmes and development plans demonstrated the following: there is great influence from a progressive post-modern discourse, and it is evident as civic (and democratic) culture was the essential axis for this programmes and plans, and social justice constituted these programmes' third most important objective. Use of categories and discursive objects such as 'solidarity', 'participation', 'communication', 'rights', 'citizens' co-existence', 'inclusive city', 'social justice' and 'collective prosperity' reflected these. They have been used in the above descriptions and were associated to (discursive) practices employed in awareness campaigns aimed at implementing a participatory budget and increasing a sense of belonging to and identity with the city. At the same time, this accounted for the presence of elements from discourses associated with planning types derived from a postmodernist approach such as participatory and collaborative planning⁵⁰.

Nonetheless, there is a clear influence from a neoliberal-market led discourse⁵¹, associated with the new public management paradigm (NPM)⁵², in these government plans and

⁵⁰This type of planning, rooted in postmodern theory, developed in the 1980's – 1990's in a context of increasing inequalities, globalisation, rise of financial capital, states of progressive tendencies, changing due to migration. Therefore, the main purpose of this approach is to include the idea of difference in the theory and practice of planning (Sandercock 1998:182) Planning in this case will be developed in order to improve city changes based on tolerance of social diversity, taking into account the existence of differential power relations and of exclusion mechanisms. As a consequence, collaborative planning will develop as a process of debate and communication, where the interests, needs and voices of all the actors will be taken into account. In this scenario, where an urbanisation of injustice is recognised, the State will be neutral and open to alliances with all these actors. Social justice, in this case, will be treated through elements such as the right to the city in order to reduce inequality and to empower the disempowered (Sandercock 1998, Purcell 2003, Levy 2010a).

⁵¹ This type of planning emerged between the 1980s and 1990s and is defined as an approach rooted in the neoliberal paradigm which promotes market expansion and enablement through strategies such as privatisation of urban services, institutional reform, spatial/physical intervention, minimal public investment, active management of local authorities and the private sector, and the establishment of public – private – community (based organisations) partnerships and programmes (Allen and You 2002, Levy 2010a). This approach makes a shift from planning to urban management; hence the manager has to support the market in order to promote

programmes. This was identifiable in the 2001 – 2003 government's programme second objective: productivity promotion to turn Bogotá 'into a city attractive to investors, economically competitive and effective in its administrative management'. Additionally, categories and discursive objects such as 'self-regulation', 'urban productivity', 'productive city'⁵³, 'an organised and competitive city', 'a city attractive to investors' and 'regulatory systems of behaviour'. These were associated with strategies and practices such as infrastructure improvement (spatial/physical intervention) and public – private partnership development.

Moreover, presence of objects and categories such as 'progress', 'order', 'control', 'educating city', 'peaceful coexistence' (related with European ideals) and 'urban civility' (conceived as a control instrument derived from the XIX century Nation State⁵⁴), also made an influence from modern rationality discourses evident. These are also associated to strategies or practices such as establishing certain behaviour patterns (for example, based on an ecological awareness), obligations such as respect for authority and rationalisation of the city government through academic knowledge. All these also indicate influence from discourses derived from rational comprehensive planning⁵⁵ (Escobar 1996; Piffano 2002).

investment and the promotion of city competitiveness in the name of efficiency. Some key areas of interest of this approach, which change depending on the context, emphasise cities economic performance in relation to land, infrastructure, transformation of urban specific spaces, poverty alleviation, municipal finance and administration and environmental liveability (Werna 1995). This began to create tensions in the place making process through the fragmentation of the city and exclusion of the "poor" (Zetter 2004). This type of planning is developed in a scenario where the individual plays an important role and where the main State's responsibility, as a neutral arbiter, is to protect it. Therefore, urban management has to focus on market promotion and support of individual rights (Albrecht 1991).

⁵²New public management is an approach that emerged in the 1980s in countries such as UK, USA and New Zealand, and whose aim was to integrate some elements from private or enterprise logic to public organisations. It sought to fulfil citizens' needs through efficient, effective and competitive public management grounded in rational and public choice. It would develop greater quality services by means of a control system allowing for transparency in plan election and results, as well as in citizen participation. In this way, greater productivity in collective efficiency would be achieved, which would not only depend on the responsibility of leaders but also on citizens' commitment through strategic, democratic planning (Ehsan and Naz 2003; Navas 2010). Thus, entrepreneurial principles were fostered, such as: "1) *Community-owned government*; 2) *Competitive government*; 3) *Mission-driven government*; 4) *Results-oriented government*; 5) *Customer-driven government*; 6) *Enterprising government*; 7) *Anticipatory government*; 8) *Decentralised government*" (Ehsan and Naz 2003:35). This occurred in a context where it is essential to go from the traditional welfare/bureaucratic State, characterised by thorough regulation of procedures, centralisation, attachment to routines and standardised procedures, and organisations' rigid hierarchy, to a rationalised State with a more flexible, effective, transparent and efficient model, focused on satisfying citizens' demands. The aforementioned was undertaken within a neoliberal framework, where synergy management between the public and private sectors is encouraged: decentralisation, privatisation, market orientation/competition, capacity building and de/bureaucratisation in the name of "good governance" (Ehsan and Naz 2003; Haque 2009; Navas 2010). This paradigm has been influential in Latin America since the 1990s; however, implementation of these measures has not been easy because the traditional bureaucratic model, clientelist culture and absence of professional public service are so ingrained.

⁵³ Described as a city where participation in globalisation of modern economies and improving infrastructure is important (Mockus 2001).

⁵⁴ For Colombia's case this happens during the Republic period (XIX century) when a nation-state independence, transition and construction process inspired on progress, modernity and civility ideals took place. Along this process emphasis was placed on discourses and practices related to hygiene, urbanity, and civility in response to a pressing need to educate citizens from certain behavioural patterns (Ome, 2006).

⁵⁵ After the Second World War, in a scenario where initial statutory bases for urban planning were established, this type of planning was developed. Exported from the University of Chicago planning programme, this model

However, perhaps the best way to understand how this discourse hybridisation occurred in this particular case is to take into account categories, objects and strategies or practices I have labelled as hybrid. One of these is 'rationality' (a category and object derived from modernity) that is considered to be expressed and practised through a participatory planning processes. Also, 'civic culture' is an object and category related to 'urban culture and identity' in the government programmes and development plans. This category reveals influences from modern and rational discourses and narratives when seeking to practise control, surveillance and policing civilian behaviour. But at the same time it evinces how important fostering solidarity, communication and citizen – democratic participation (categories derived from post-modern and progressive discourses) are to promoting civic awareness in harmony with the law.

Another example worthy of highlighting is the object, category and strategy of 'pedagogical spaces' which I have labelled 'pedagogic places of change'⁵⁶ (which will be further analysed in section 3.3.1). As previously observed, such places were defined in municipal development programmes and plans as spaces to turn political activity into education for a 'cultured Bogotá'. Among civic culture implementation strategies, these spaces became the embodiment of citizen control, education, awareness, policing and surveillance who should learn to behave according to moral and legal norms. Rules and standards for interaction with the aim to change ways of life are established through so called 'pleasant and orderly spaces' and citizen meetings, in which conflict resolution peaceful methods were taught and citizenship projects and training exercises took place. A very interesting hybridisation process is observed. It aims to implement participatory mechanisms for responsible

dominated the field during the 1950's and 1960's (Wingfield 1971; Sandercock 1998). Directly influenced by enlightenment epistemology, this model is founded on its belief in rationality (Brown 1971). Therefore, planning here is understood as a rational (relation ends - means) - scientific tool for social progress manageable in the public interest (*Sandercock 1998:170*) Inside this "technical and neutral" practice that is developed through comprehensive public policy processes, which expand the scope of planning; the planner is recognised as controller and coordinator with professional expertise power and voice to mould the future on behalf of the public interest and environmental improvement. All this is developed in a scenario where society is considered homogeneous, leaving differences behind and where the scope of action is related with socioeconomic and spatial/physical aspects (Banovetz 1971; Wingfield 1971; Sandercock 1998). These planners also have legitimacy because planning is related with a neutral and benign State that behaves as an arbiter of "the good" (Banovetz 1971; Sandercock 1998). As a consequence of this conception of the State and of planning in general, important issues such as social justice are not overtly developed in this model.

⁵⁶ I speak about places rather than spaces since, I consider that an approach to studying spaces from the perspective of place (and even more so from an anthropological perspective) allows for understanding of how hybrid dynamics are made reality, negotiated and/or contested in daily life. It allows explaining how such dynamics depend on and develop according to peculiar traits of places and their inhabitants (their interests, opinions, likes). Thus, these pedagogic places of change become scenarios where these inter-scale hybrid dynamics are brought to life in harmony with the actors and contexts involved, generating different possibilities for change at various levels (personal, neighbourhood, local, urban, regional, national, and global). In the case of Mr. Mockus' mayoral periods, these places reveal how these global discourses are adapted as hybridisation locally and how they are assimilated or not, generating change or not for people in their daily lives, but also for their neighbourhood, locality and city, creating new standards and norms to live and behave.

exercising of citizen rights, and at the same time these spaces seek to control and spread given and expected behaviours.

All the aforementioned resulted in a 'practical and discursive hybrid' where influences from post-modern discourse (progressive in terms of governance) and some derived from modernity (instrumental rationality) related with neo-liberal and market-led narratives (pseudo-freedom of the self-regulated individual) are observable. Also it exhibits connection to pre-neoliberal discourses associated with a paternalist and benefactor State's dialectic (one that must educate to control), which is at the same time a co-agent in generating shared responsibility dynamics between citizens and State. This hybridity can also be explained because NPM was being adopted by Latin American governments such as Brazil and Colombia at that time.

Likewise, my discursive analysis of this 'hybrid discursive context' reported influence from environmentalism, complementing the scenario where Ecobarrios programme emerged. This was observed throughout documentation explaining that one of the government plans' and programmes' objectives was the promotion of social and environmental sustainable development as well as of production and wealth for the city. Also, the fact that the environment came 5th out of the 6 objectives of the 2001 – 2003 government programme may suggest that although it was important, it was not considered as important as the previous 4⁵⁷ (figure 1). Thus, I identified discursive categories and objects such as 'sustainability', 'environment', 'conservation', 'preservation', 'protection', 'natural resources', 'sustainable development', 'environmental sustainable development', 'natural and built environment', and 'new relationship between society and environment'. Regarding strategies, the city's infrastructure and environment underwent a beautification process implemented by means of campaigns and awareness programmes (recycling, etc.).

In this way, influence from diverse environmental discourses such environmental problem solving and administrative rationalism were observed⁵⁸ (Dryzek 1997). According to administrative rationalism, scientific and technical expertise has to be used to solve environmental problems; nature, as a resource and object, is subordinated to human problem solving, hence it is an anthropocentric and ethnocentric discourse (Dryzek 1997).

⁵⁷ This will be better understood and explained with the information of the section 3.3.1

⁵⁸ Environmental problem solving: Dryzek (1997) defines it as an environmental discourse category that recognises the existence of ecological problems but views them as tractable within the basic framework of industrial society (Rojas 2001). Administrative rationalism, which belongs to this discursive category, seeks to use scientific and technical expertise in bureaucratic structures for the service of the State in order to solve complex environmental problems. This is an anthropocentric discourse that regards nature as an object and resource (Rojas 2001).

In the same way, sustainability discourse ideas are present from approaches such as sustainable development where factors like economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice and long term sustainability go together and are connected with progress. Elements such as subordination of nature, environmental protection and economic prosperity and productivity (Dryzek 1997; Rojas 2001a) reveal aspects of ecological modernisation. These two approaches are classified by Martínez (2002) as part of the environmentalism current referred to as “eco-efficiency”, which is concerned with the sustainable, scientific and wise management or use of resources and with their efficient conservation.

From these features, it could be said that this mayors’ environmental approach was mostly focused on raising ecological awareness and developing instruments for efficient environment management (Vanhulst and Beling 2013). This is distinctive of several current government rhetoric dealing with environmental issues where experts have sought to instrumentalize the relationship between people and resources (Rojas 2002). Mr. Mockus himself told me in an interview that the environmental component was important but not essential at least for his mayoral period where: "... the most important thing was to make people aware that life is sacred" (Antanas, pc, 20/06/12). Consequently, it could be thought that, as it has happened in other cities permeated by market-led or neoliberal narratives, this environmental discourse would be co-opted and employed in combination with city beautification practices in the name of competitiveness and production (Leff 2010). However, as we have been arguing the hybrid nature of its employment is highlighted as part of what might be called a political ‘planning hybrid’ culture with influences from different discourses and rationalities. This emerges as subjects start to consider a change in the relationship between society and natural environment, which implies raising awareness about the need to respect this relation and take care of nature in a sustainable way, it does not delve into it or understanding what ‘environment’, ‘the ecological’ and ‘nature’ are.

Hence, it was observed that all the above was developed and implemented through promotion of certain types of subjects who exhibited ‘appropriate behaviour’ and that are part of a society in a new relationship with their natural environment. Thus, influence from neoliberal and market-led rationality is observable in ideas about how to govern and, specifically, to build subjects and subjectivities, managing their behaviour and emotions. Thus, through decentralisation, the ‘self-prudential’, ‘free’, ‘enterprising’, ‘self-regulating’ individual is created, who no longer requires a larger mechanism, like the State, to discipline his psyche and behaviour (Leff 2010). Modern individuals, active citizens with rights and freedoms:

“...are not merely ‘free to choose’ but obliged to be free, to understand and enact their lives in terms of choice...It is a freedom to realise our potential and our dreams through reshaping the way in which we conduct our lives.” (Rose, 1999:87)

This is characteristic of neoliberal governmentality where power is de-centred and members play an active role in their own self-government and because of their active role they need to be regulated from inside. This type of governmentality is based on predominance of market-mechanisms (consumption and life style pedagogies), development of private-public partnerships and limits to State action. However, in this case, as previously stated, influence from discourses derived from pre-neoliberal narratives, where the State played a paternal role educating and teaching citizens how to behave is observable.

Additionally, and as part of these planning hybrid dynamics, influence from a progressive discourse and participatory planning that sought to rule based on culture and education was apparent in strategies such as communication and solidarity, not only individual, but also collective (‘community’). Participatory strategies such as group work between ‘leaders, officials and citizens’ and empowerment of citizens from their homes and neighbourhoods sought to build subjects and subjectivities with identities associated with the territory and urban spaces and places (such as provided by POT). These practices had been unusual up till then both at city and national levels. This can then be associated with human beings behind these programmes and district positions, as it was visible to me through ethnography and life stories of which I will write in the last section of this chapter.

Thus, Ecobarrios was a programme that took place in a context where urban planning issues underwent a hybridisation process. Programmes and policies, such as search for a ‘civic culture’, were generated, to promote aspects of order and civility (from a modern-neoliberal perspective), and attempted to achieve social equity and better quality of life in the name of democratic citizenship through recognition of urban rights.

As I said in urban context, planning hybrids can be explained by the argument that planning and policy ideas travel through different networks and they are substantially reinterpreted and reconfigured by local agents, resulting in new, hybrid models of urbanisation, which do not reflect planning traditions or perspectives in a pure form⁵⁹ (Watson 2009; Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010; Robinson and Parnell 2011). This echoes Said’s travelling theory (1983) on displacement and implementation of ideas in different cultural or national contexts as an important aspect of knowledge production. In this regard, travelling theory is used to

⁵⁹ It is important to say that this analysis is also based on the idea that there is not a single direction or path for these hybrids; in fact, as a result more windows in planning dynamics could be open.

identify broader and global discourses and concepts that are applied at particular (local) historical planning scenarios. The importance of this approach, as Shatkin (2008) asserts, is that focusing the analysis of urban development on the interaction and dynamics between global and local forces reveals how particular cultural and historical narratives also shape urban development processes and city models⁶⁰. Hybridisation, in this case, also affected the city's political discursive context, making it more progressive and with market – led influences. This totally makes sense in a historical moment where the NPM paradigm was implemented and triggered these types of planning hybrid dynamics.

Hence, it is important to acknowledge that when analysing how these rationalities and ideologies travel, how they are adapted and applied, for example by mayors, their teams and government programmes, we must not pigeon hole them in black boxes. It is better to understand that these trajectories and adaptation imply great complexity from their peculiarities where not only their contexts and governments but also people play an essential role in generating these 'hybrid spaces'. This entails that certain aspects of global discourses are not always assumed and adapted in their entirety and in a static manner, but particular traits or features may be applied according to contextual specific characteristics and dynamics, places, situations and even personal interests (all of which undergo continuous re-construction). All this regarding hybrid dynamics may be easier and more interesting to understand from an anthropological perspective allowing an analysis of the sphere of people, their interests and decisions. Before said analysis of this programme's case in chapter 4, the following will delve into the official history of the Ecobarrios programme.

3.2 The official history of Ecobarrios programme and its subjects

In this section I will explore the public history of the Ecobarrios programme or project (depending on the source), as narrated by the institutional documents and other primary sources such as newspapers. This aims to deconstruct and understand the discourses (discursive apparatus), practices and social dynamics in which the programme is framed, which are also associated with the construction of place-based subjects and subjectivities. This will be done from governance lenses that allow us to understand the organisation of the simultaneous production of knowledge and power. This in turn allows for an in-depth exploration of the planning hybrid encapsulated by Ecobarrios Programme, as well as of its underlying power – rationalities / ontologies and representations.

⁶⁰ For the context of Bogotá it is important to highlight that: "...looking out from any given city, policy circuits are already hybrid, and perhaps nowhere more so than in the highly fragmented urban spaces of the global south where governance regimes are fluid, and contested and where much of the city itself is informally constituted" (Robinson and Parnell 2011:526)

Thus, I developed a discursive analysis of what was said (discourse level) to interpret what was done (in practice) from what is represented "...from a particular order ...that as a speech ... [through its discursive categories] ... produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying others" (Foucault in Escobar 1999: 30) It is worth noting that, in my opinion, discourses are not pure or exist apart from one another; on the contrary, as I have argued, hybridisation dynamics take place, and these allow us to interpret realities in more complex rather than dichotomous manners. Nonetheless, one of the methodological tools is to deconstruct and classify them in order to explore and understand how this hybridisation occurs.

3.2.1 Ecobarrios: building an ecological city from the inside out

This project was implemented during Mr. Mockus' second mayoral period (2001 -2003) by Administration Department of District Community Action (Departamento Administrativo de Acción Comunal Distrital - DAACD) whose mission was to "Identify and propose development strategies for agents, citizens' participation processes, and of community organisation in the District Capital, and implement instruments that will enable us to achieve our vision" (Rojas 2002:4) This was framed within two programmes: 'Works yielding a Pedagogical Balance' ('Obras con Saldo pedagógico' – OSP, focused on infrastructure development) and 'Actions for living together' ('Acciones para la convivencia')⁶¹.

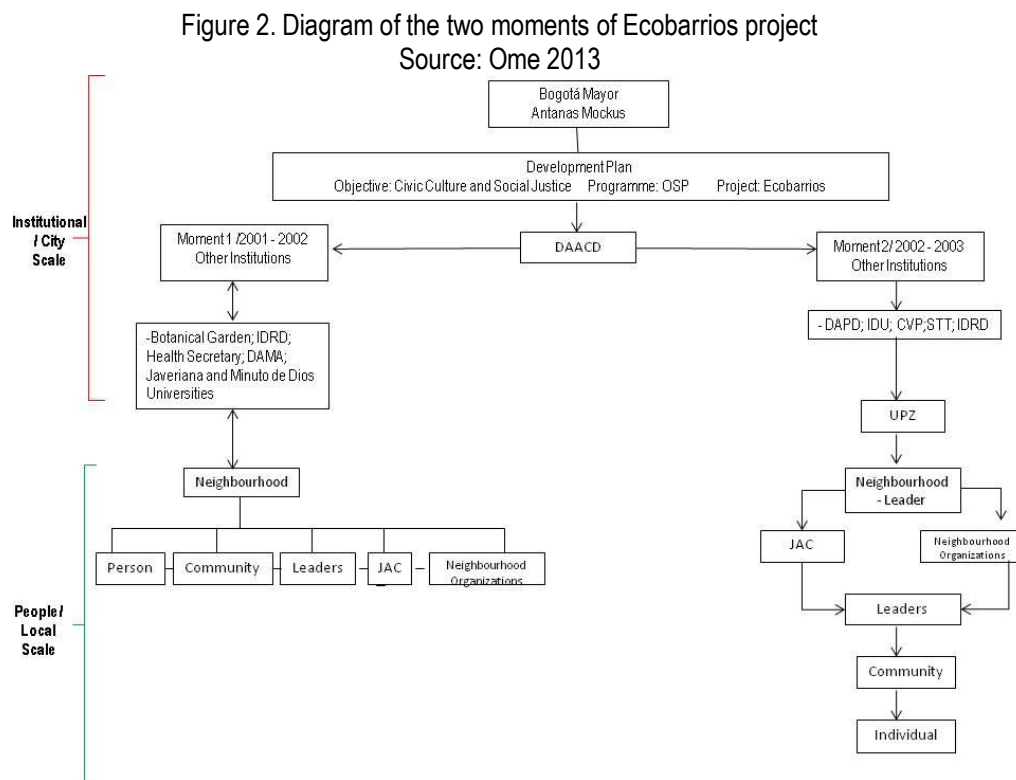
Within the municipal Development Plan, Ecobarrios was conceived as part of the Social Justice objective (associated with civic culture), which sought to strengthen democratic culture and promote citizen participation, community organisation and conflict management. That is why, programmes that contributed to create conditions for vulnerable populations focused on nutrition, health, education, housing and infrastructure were promoted. Ecobarrios belonged to the OSP programme which sought to "...support residents of priority, most vulnerable neighbourhoods in developing actions in the physical, economic, social, ecological and cultural areas." (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá 2001b:29). This programme's goal was to achieve 300 neighbourhoods with OSP and community enterprises, accompanied by actions that would enhance the community's spiritual, living and social conditions. Thus within OSP, Ecobarrios stayed as a priority project defined as:

"... a holistic intervention strategy on the communities where we consider the physical, economic, social and spiritual dimensions. Regarding the project's

⁶¹ OSP began in 1995 as a method to strengthen neighbourhood collective capacities and social networks, through creation of public space works at a smaller scale in city areas with integral neighbourhood improvement. Citizen participation and comunal organisation processes were promoted by generating "actions for living together" between 1998 and 2000. These derived from a contest in which neighbourhood organisations presented their projects.

physical dimension, investment priorities are infrastructure and environment; in the economic dimension, generation of employment and productive enterprises; in the social dimension, the programme seeks to further participation and community organisation besides education, training, health, art and culture. The spiritual dimension includes investment in promotion forms of spiritual life and conflict management” (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá 2001b:29)

From the ethnographic work conducted during my fieldwork (ethnographic interviews and life stories of the institutional actors) I identified two moments of the project associated with changes in the DAACD direction which influenced its (discursive) objectives, methodology and narrative (see figure 2).



3.2.1.1 Ecobarrios first moment

The first moment was in 2001 under Isabel Londoño’s leadership and with Carlos Rojas as coordinator who stayed in post throughout the project. At that moment, the programme emerged based on the following reflection: “The humankind is facing a social, environmental and values crisis. Hence, our generation and the next ones need to conceive new models to live on the planet: life and organisation alternatives (for example, urban), different from those historically resulting from industrialisation and economic liberalisation, which will consider a more ethical relationship with nature and living beings in general” (Rojas 2002, 2003).

Rojas argues that this general crisis has arisen thanks to implementation of discourses, such as anthropocentrism, which conceive 'nature' as an inexhaustible resource at the service of human exploitation, prioritising their needs and denying the rights of other living beings. This discourse also employs a technical – western – male rationality which does not take into account local community processes and knowledge, uses vertical power mechanisms and believes in technology, economic development, individualism and competition as engines of change (Rojas 2002, 2003).

Therefore, and considering environmental and social problems generated, design of options was undertaken, at least of intermediate (transition) options, which constitute the basis for developing (local and community) alternatives to these modern development models in urban areas. These options were conceived from discourses such as the ecocentric⁶² (represented by bioregionalism⁶³, ecofeminism⁶⁴, deep ecology⁶⁵ and spiritual ecology⁶⁶) that promote an urgent ontological change. From this perspective transformation entails a deep (internal) human change, an awareness awakening that led to a new horizontal relationship between oneself and other living beings, based on 'harmony', 'respect',

⁶² Ecocentrism (as part of alternative holism) denotes a nature centered, instead of human centered, system of values; hence it opposes a relationship of dominance on nature and acknowledges that animals and plants have intrinsic rights and values. This shift from anthropocentrism, called "decentering", is a prominent feature of postmodernism: "In this discourse, nature is regarded as a transcendent unity of which humans are an integral part." (Rojas 2001: 36)

⁶³ Bioregionalism is a natural decentralising tendency that competes with centralisation, capitalism, globalisation and national boundaries. It is interested in the redefinition of regions according to natural and cultural boundaries and the development of a sense of place. Instead of big and global cities, it proposes small-scale human settlements that are integrated to their natural and cultural region. Important principles underlying this perspective are: a) Liberation of the self in order to reduce market forces and develop cooperation, participation, reciprocity and fraternity; b) Learning the popular knowledge (traditional wisdom) and c) Use of appropriate Technologies (Rojas 2001).

⁶⁴ Ecofeminism is a tendency related with movements and philosophies that connect the domination of women and other oppressed humans with nature's domination and exploitation. This approach argues that there is a historical connection between nature and women hence for their liberation it is crucial to change the domination model of relationships (Rojas 2001). Also, to change this model, it is important to apply values related to women – nature such as reciprocity, cooperation and nurturing.

⁶⁵ Deep ecology is: "...a contemporary ecological and environmental philosophy characterised by its advocacy of the inherent worth of living beings regardless of their instrumental utility to human needs, and advocacy for a radical restructuring of modern human societies in accordance with such ideas." (Rojas 2001:40). The core principle of this eco-centric philosophy is the belief that the living environment should be respected and regarded as having certain legal rights to flourish and live. This is founded on the idea that the natural world implies a balance of complex inter-relationships in which the existence of organisms is dependent on the existence of others within ecosystems. This balance has been affected due to human intervention becoming a threat for this equilibrium; therefore, deep ecology also as a radical movement argues for an ecological consciousness taking into account values such as: biocentric equality, self-realisation and living in harmony with nature. (Rojas 2001:40)

⁶⁶ Spiritual Ecology is a developing field in ecological sustainability, science and academia, and religion and spirituality that suggests a spiritual response to the ecological crisis. Hence, it connects the consciousness of the sacred within creation with environmentalism and ecology, implying the recognition of creation as sacred and behaviours that honour that sacredness. This field argues that in order to solve environmental problems humanity need to develop a spiritual awareness and attitude of responsibility in order to examine and re-evaluate our beliefs and behaviours about Earth and our spiritual responsibility to the planet. Spiritual ecology promotes a paradigm/ontological shift that prompts the development of a spiritual vision of human / planetary / divine collective evolution that is expanding consciousness beyond the human / earth, heaven / earth, mind / body dualities. This view is typical of the contemporary movement that recognises the unity and interrelation or "Interbeing" of all creation (Sponsel 2012).

'unconditional love', overcoming the duality view of men/nature, spirit/mind held until the present time. Therefore, sustainability may be promoted and guaranteed from a cultural and paradigm change that promotes respect for diversity (Rojas 2002, 2003).

However, according to Rojas (2003), Ecobarrios and the design of options to promote the change of perspective outlined above took place in a context where the municipal administration was prioritising the POT as its main instrument, increased competitiveness as a key objective and progress-oriented planning from ethnocentric sustainable development discourses. In this respect, with the aim of avoiding perpetuation of that type of contradictions and finding common ground among the various discursive approaches, actions enclosed by a reflection on how to achieve real sustainable human development were established⁶⁷. Therefore, Rojas (2003) explains that for Bogotá's case, they thought of options that would come from alternatives generated at local community levels (as a discursive object), and that would imply 'cooperation and participation' (as discursive categories) at district, local, zone, neighbourhood levels, instead of vertical power methods. Likewise, it was required to include a reflexive approach to development where it would not only entail casual environmental improvements, but also take into account all development dimensions.

To this end, Ecobarrios was proposed as an intermediate option, in a transition context moving from a modern paradigm to another (perhaps, ecological/spiritual). Ecobarrios sought:

"To foster harmonious community development in which organisational processes and neighbourhood participation are strengthened through a holistic intervention strategy in communities seeking to promote a culture of sustainable and holistic development " (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001:7)

Hence, this programme was carried out as DAACD initiative to share with community-based organisations (CBOs) in Bogotá the vision of 'holistic development' adopted in the ecovillages, which are recognised by the UN as a successful alternative for sustainable development. The ecovillage is understood as:

"A human settlement designed at human scale, which includes all important aspects of life, integrating them respectfully in the natural environment, supports healthy forms of development and may persist into the indefinite future." (Rojas 2003: 15)

⁶⁷ Rojas defines sustainable human development based on Dryzek (1997) "...living together, cooperation, human solidarity with each other and living beings from other species. We find in these values engines that encourage development and we assume that these values must be generated from community's direct capacity to sound, plan and realise their future. The path towards sustainable development, as a real adaptation option, is a path of high-impact creative cultural changes." (Rojas 2003:7)

Ecobarrios was then associated:

“...with some sustainable development methods since it acknowledges that environmental problem solving requires creative alternatives and democratic processes from the base, from the local, but with a global awareness, respecting diversity, promoting participation, searching for middle ground and believing in community solutions rather than in those that may be imposed by scientific or political authorities.” (Rojas 2003:7)

However, as Rojas (2002, 2003) clarifies, the programme considered that the adoption of such approach to promote sustainable development would not be possible unless ecocentric reflections and motivations were put into practice. Thus, the Ecobarrio is defined as: “...a group or community that with a long term vision gets organised in order to improve their quality of life and to achieve their social and environmental welfare in a sustainable urban context...” (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá 2003:2) The project’s name reflects one of the pedagogical strategies applied: the rhetoric of metaphors, which helps explain complex concepts through simple, everyday associations. The *ECO* prefix comes from the Greek word *oikos*, which means home. Therefore, an Ecobarrio is defined as the ‘neighbourhood – home’ where both humans and all other beings live *as in their own house* (DAACD 2001).

Ecobarrios also evokes the notion of an ‘ecological neighbourhood’ For this project ‘ecology’ was understood as the study of relationships between living beings and their environment, which involves addressing the links among the individual, population, community and ecosystem. The word neighbourhood was associated with a community that is constituted due to the needs to share, dwell, develop a sense of belonging and be part of a larger family. Therefore, an ecological neighbourhood was regarded as an extended community that consider these variables in their various actions and decide to live ecologically (discursive object), that is in harmony with nature, respecting the interrelationships between all living beings, and considering humans as an integral (not necessarily central) part of a larger system. At a wider level, this approach was assumed to have the capacity to create better ways to inhabit and live in our planet, our home, which will move us away from individualism and neoliberal consumerism and modernity (DAACD 2001).

The previous discussion shows that during its conception or first phase, the spiritual dimension play a key role in shaping the objectives and orientation of the programme. An internal-reflexive personal and collective conscience change (discursive object) was deemed as central to achieve such cultural transformation and required the inclusion of neighbourhood leaders as political axes, and community based organisations - JACs and

neighbourhood organisations. The assumption was that such an approach would promote awareness and empower people to re-assess their values and to develop possible solutions and alternatives to much more sustainable development (discursive object) than those solutions implemented only at the physical level. This explains the programme's slogan: "building an ecological city from the inside out" (see photo 7).

Photo 7. Slogan and Symbol Ecobarrio Programme
Source: personal file Ome 2009



Regarding the image it is worth noting that Ecobarrios is not presented as a project but as a programme and this is due to differences that existed between the DAACD's two directions whose information was obtained not from the documents but from the 'ethnographic interviews' mentioned in the last section of this chapter.

Ecobarrios was based on the following main discursive statements:

"To have an ideal of development based on respect and harmony between people and the environment; Take advantage of the funds and time surplus in order to use them for the care of people and nature; To create a community action board - JAC (as a dynamic axis of the neighbourhood) in order to elaborate a long term development plan for the neighbourhood through a participatory process (individual and collective); To develop all the projects taking into account the positive impact on the social, economic, physical, environmental and spiritual reality. Therefore projects should be: Ecologically healthy, this means they do not allow for people to suffer illness and they avoid environment pollution. Economically affordable, this means that they can be developed with the available funds. Meeting our needs, for instance, developing celebrations and their own public spaces as places of coexistence, happiness and security. Sustainable in the long term through activities that imitated nature cycles and take into account local knowledge. For instance, healthy economies that implemented appropriate technologies in order to build ecological houses, recycling, save water and energy. Strengthening people's spiritual dimension, which means that they will offer new reasons to live happily with inner peace and re-shaping human relation with nature, which will in turn allow for free identity construction based on respect for other livings diversity (cultural, ethnic, spiritual and of species). Develop a sense of belonging, taking care of

public spaces, streets, parks and where we live: “..not because they are a possession but because they are our mother Earth’s skin, which we defend, respect and love since we are her children, a part of her” (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001:8 -11)

According to Rojas, Ecobarrios was structured around 5 dimensions following the ecovillages guidelines: the social, economic, physical, environmental and spiritual (which in the second stage would be renamed as human). This was assumed in order to make Bogotá an ecological and sustainable city. The spiritual dimension was presented as one of the main dimensions in order to achieve *holistic development* (discursive category). It was related to the idea that we should start to reflect on our role on this planet and consider the possibility to see ourselves as *transcendental beings, protectors* and advocates of the *mother earth, its resources and community life*.

Spirituality was to be developed through values such as *capacity to dream, happiness, vision, enthusiasm, unconditional love and generosity* (discursive categories), and through actions (as strategies and discursive practices) such as: the promotion of a *consciousness* based on the idea that we are co-creators with the earth rather than their owners (change of the relationship culture – society - nature). All spiritual manifestations are welcome with *respect and tolerance*. There is an awareness of the presence of *mother earth*; hence, its manifestations, such as time cycles, seasons etc., are celebrated. Neighbourhood *harmony and coexistence* are promoted by encouraging spiritual and love manifestations expressed through dance, music, art, poetry etc. *Conciliation committees* at the neighbourhood level are promoted in order to solve conflicts in a constructive way. *Forgiveness and reconciliation* are promoted as powerful methods in order to rebuild and facilitate a *cohesion sense* within the community. Victims of any type of violence -and their pain - are recognised and they receive collaboration for their recovery (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001).

The spiritual dimension was fully connected with the physical – environmental one. Initially, this latter dimension conceives our contact and relation with Earth, plants, animals, the products that we consume, our houses and all the elements that surround us, as spheres for deep spiritual experiences. Hence the programme promoted actions that *improve* neighbourhood’s *infrastructure* and actions (as strategies and discursive practices) that empower people to become *responsible managers and protectors of nature* (discursive object), tackling simultaneously the material and spiritual dimensions.

In this physical - environmental dimension *progress* is measured in terms of *happiness and harmony* (discursive categories) with nature rather than accumulation of material objects. A

consciousness of respect for all beings is present; plants that produced food were grown and animals are not abused. *Humans, plants and animals* are respected and protected; for instance, through the conservation of the environmentally protected areas and local cultures as legacy for future generations. Natural resources are shared in order for everyone to enjoy them. Mountainsides, rivers and '*green spaces*' are cared for and recovered; for instance, through control of industrial waste disposal, recycling and use of bicycles instead of cars. Houses were transformed step by step into *ecological houses* (ecocasas), which implies that they were healthy for their inhabitants and the environment. Parks are built in order for people to enjoy these public spaces and nature (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001).

The economic dimension was associated with the management of the home. In a healthy economy, like in a healthy home, the daily benefits that we receive are the result of a daily ritual of spirituality and coexistence with all beings. Instead of competitiveness, we remember that *love and mutual help* are the values that keep us alive. When good home management takes place, discursive practices as the following are implemented: the neighbourhood became a *company* for all where businesses generate *solidarity* bonds in order to improve quality. Initiatives in order to help the poor were developed. A reflexive exercise regarding the ethical dimension of *consumption* is developed. Therefore, the production of good local products (that do not generate pollution such as plastics) and the use of *local knowledge* are promoted. Solidarity and *fair economy* are promoted through agreements of mutual support in order to exchange goods between neighbours and save funds. Community human resources are the most important *capital* (discursive category) for the Ecobarrio (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001).

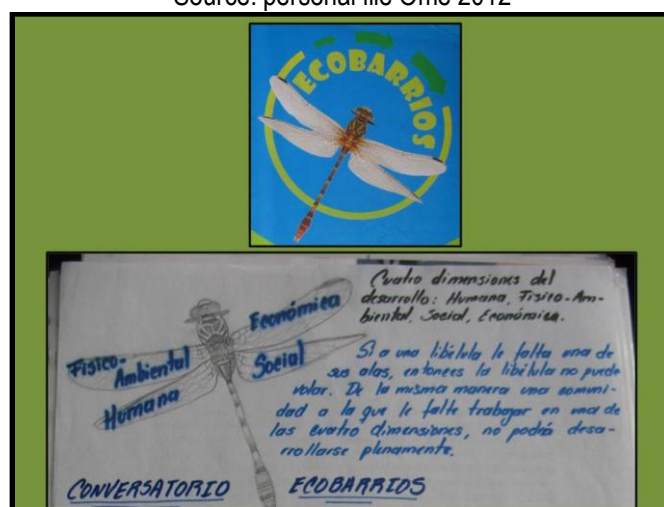
Finally, the social dimension of an Ecobarrio was related with the promotion of *democracy* based on values such as *justice, truth and respect* (discursive categories). This dimension embraces democratic practices such as the following: people relate and interact as part of a big family helping each other. Community develops agreements for a better coexistence. Common resources are shared. Culture and art are promoted as well as the training of community leaders. Marginalised groups such as indigenous, afrodescendant and displaced people are integrated (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001).

The wings of the dragonfly used in the programme's logo represent these dimensions and their transparency was related to Ecobarrios values such as honesty, justice and truth (see figure 3). The key message here is that a community needs to work on all of these dimensions in order to fly and develop.

“If the dragonfly misses one of its wings, then it cannot fly. In the same way, a community not working on one of the four dimensions would not be able to fully develop. We imagine that a dragonfly in mid-air represents a community in full rise” (Rojas and Aristizabal 2001:8)

Sustainable development, just as the synchronised dragonfly flight, requires coordinated and holistic work aiming to develop a community that can subsist, even in hard conditions. This explanation of the dragonfly’s meaning was preserved during the two phases of the programme.

Figure 3. Dragonfly – Ecobarrios symbol
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Regarding the methodology, participatory planning and project execution were carried out, implementing the use of *pedagogical principles* such as "learning by doing"(Rojas and Aristizabal 2001:10). In 2001, this was developed based on OSP's legacy: organisations were trained to produce a *neighbourhood development plan* with projects identified for each dimension of the programme. A contest was organised and the funding to be awarded ranged between 5 and 60 million Colombian pesos (1600 and 19000 US) for developing the plan. Prototypes or pre-defined projects per dimension were included, but this failed because it was against the idea that communities designed their proposals according to their needs. Also, for the methodology of the programme the government employees worked on an inter-institutional basis through training workshops with the Botanical Garden (Urban Agriculture), the Institute for Recreation and Sport (Instituto Distrital de Recreación y Deporte - IDRD), Secretary of Health, Administration Department of Environment (Departamento Administrativo del Medio Ambiente - DAMA) (green leaders project), Javeriana and Minuto de Dios universities. The balance in this regard was not very positive because the institutions failed to get involved early in the process. Hence, there was not

enough time to carry out processes with the community to raise awareness and appropriation of ecological issues associated with the project.

Although information about the programme in primary sources such as newspapers – such as *El Tiempo* (a national newspaper) and *Accion Conjunta* – DAACD newspaper⁶⁸ – was not easily accessible, the few articles that I found about Ecobarrios were produced in 2001. For *El Tiempo*, I identified six articles in the Bogotá section and one in the housing section (seven in total); for *Accion Conjunta* I found four. All of them were brief and informative notes on Ecobarrios launch, Ecobarrios forum (where Mockus participated in order to invite the public to take ownership of the initiative and collaborate with the organisations) and the achievement of *capacity building workshops* (in order to design neighbourhood development plans and the positive reception of the programme by the citizens). According to DAACD statistical data, 360 CBO's were registered: 48.6% - stratum 2; 29.2% - stratum 3 and 15.8% - stratum 1⁶⁹. In these informative notes, it was highlighted that in an Ecobarrio: "...problems are opportunities...and the city is not defined as a concrete jungle..." (Rojas 2001b:4)

Nevertheless, in some of 'El Tiempo' notes it was assumed that OSP changed the name for Ecobarrios as if they were the same programme. Therefore, Ecobarrios was presented as a programme associated with the construction of '*friendly spaces*' and '*better citizens*'. Furthermore, the importance of the programme was summarised in the statement: "So the question is: and this year, what work do we do? It is perhaps the most often heard among the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods of stratum 1 and 2" (Valle 2001). In this article, written by the Colombian society of architects to complain about Ecobarrios budget reductions for 2002, the authors established that the importance of this programme did not lie in construction of pedestrian public spaces or their rehabilitation but simply on its pedagogical balance because it promotes *citizen participation*, *social values* and creates *sense of appropriation* (Valle 2001).

Regarding this information associated to the programme's first moment, I carried out an analysis from questions such as: what does 'ecological construction' involve? What did they mean by 'inside out'? These allowed me to delve into discursive hybrid dynamics associated with Ecobarrios and interpret the following. Firstly, as observed in the slogan: "building an

⁶⁸ Regarding *Accion Conjunta* it is important to clarify that I did not have access to all the newspapers of 2001, 2002 and 2003, just to the papers that I found in the personal archives of Ana Maria and Carlos. About *El Espectador*, I could not find any paper related to Ecobarrios between 2001 and 2003.

⁶⁹ Kennedy was the locality with more JAC registered (16.9%), followed by Rafael Uribe (10%) and San Cristobal (9%). Teusaquillo and Chapinero were the localities with less participation (1%).

ecological city from inside out”, the programme was generally introduced from its beginnings as an initiative associated with a type of ecological city planning. As I explained in the theoretical chapter, eco-city planning is a perspective that promotes ecological sustainability in order to pursue sustainable livelihoods. It also supports community based strategies in order to plan and develop pleasant, participatory and healthy ‘green’ cities to live, where social justice is also promoted (Roseland 1997; Register 2002).

Ecobarrios originated as an initiative that sought to promote a paradigm/ontological shift in order for current and future generations to build alternative lifestyles and urban organisation. This was to be done in a scenario where we could face global environmental problems (in urban areas in particular) from proposals that consider cultural changes and ethical relationships with nature. Thus, environmentalism was taken as discursive formation and alternative holism⁷⁰ within it (based on deep ecology, bioregionalism, ecofeminism and spiritual ecology) as a discursive perspective (with their own discursive objects and categories). According to Dryzek (1997) this perspective belongs to green romanticism which is part of green radicalism; for Martínez (2002) it is part of the ‘cult of wilderness’ current; for Leff (2011) it is related to a new environmental rationality and for Escobar (2011) it is related to transition discourses (TDs) associated with relational ontologies such as ‘good living’ discourse⁷¹ (Vanhulst and Beling 2013). It is worth highlighting that these

⁷⁰ *Alternative holism* is a perspective (belonging to relational ontologies) that understands environmental problems as the result of current economic and social regime’s governance. Therefore, this approach proposes a different global governance based on a new relationship with nature conceiving it as another important actor with political conditions. Furthermore, this perspective promotes the right to life for future generations and non-human actors based on different values related to nature: “From this perspective, local communities must be based on shared responsibility for collective co-existence values. Thus, every community member has to share actions and make decisions collectively in order to build communal democracy institutions. This communal system aims at reinforcing a culture of justice, tolerance and humility at the same time as searching with other communities common goals centred on reciprocity with nature.” (Palacio and Ulloa 2002:222)

⁷¹ *Green radicalism* rejects the basic structure of industrial society and the way the environment is conceptualised; it promotes transformation in human consciousness, economics and politics. Dryzek divides green radicalism into two main groups, according to their reaction to the enlightenment project (modernity). One group is the romantics and the second is the rationalists (Rojas 2001a).

Green Romanticism, skeptical about industrialisation, seeks to change the world by changing the way individuals approach and experience it, in particular through cultivation of more empathetic and less manipulative orientations toward nature and other people. It comprises several green discourse communities: Deep ecology, Cultural ecofeminism, Bioregionalism as a sense of place, Lifestyle greens, Eco-theology, Eco-communalism (Rojas 2001a)

Environmental Rationality: During the 60’s and 70’s, in the middle of an environmental crisis associated to unsustainable world development, a new environmental epistemology emerges. Its aim was to deconstruct scientific paradigms derived from modernity’s (theoretical, instrumental, economic and legal) rationality, which undermined other social organisation modes guided by other values. Hence, it takes into account the ecological conditions in which a society develops, incorporating nature laws as part of social imaginaries. This entails constructing new subjects with new individual and collective behaviours, associated to the construction of an ecological conscience. This proposal will go further than greening thoughts and developing a set of efficient instruments for environment management. It aims at diluting dichotomies between thought / values, reason / sense, and accepting difference and diversity, integrating local knowledge based on the culture and nature relationship (Leff 2011; Vanhulst and Beling 2013).

TDs: “Those that are emerging today with particular richness and intensity from a multiplicity of sites, principally social movements, some civil society NGOs, and from intellectuals with significant connections to environmental

environmental discourses and their influence will be more clearly understood when outcomes from ethnographic interviews and life stories are explained.

In this manner, it is understandable why at this first discursive moment, the programme emphasised a paradigm change founded on ideas for 'holistic and healthy development', where the spiritual dimension started to play an essential role. Generating this paradigm change entailed raising people's awareness and understanding their connection to mother Earth and all other living beings. To that end, it was vital to bolster values such as: dreaming, happiness, vision, enthusiasm, respect, harmony, unconditional love, generosity, forgiveness, reconciliation, solidarity, cooperation, tolerance and enthusiasm (which are also discursive categories). These would bring about an 'ontological turn', a change in views about people themselves (both as rational – modernity's legacy, and spiritual beings – as we are in other ontologies) and their relationships and coexistence in community / family and nature and other living beings in general.

Thus, the slogan of building an ecological city from inside out makes sense, since what these TD's means is that every person must change their inner life which will in turn generate a chain of transformations in their surroundings. Then, strategies to foster and accompany these 'spiritual development' processes, such as 'spaces for forgiveness and reconciliation', creation of forgiveness and reconciliation neighbourhood networks are developed (derived from Schools of Forgiveness and Reconciliation – Escuelas del Perdón y la Reconciliación - ESPERE which are going to be explained in section 3.2.2). It encourages society to create 'coexistence spaces' through urban agriculture, activities with (non-abused) animals and celebrations (fairs).

and cultural struggles. TDs are prominent in several fields, including those of culture, ecology, religion and spirituality, and alternative science (e.g., living systems and complexity)...[...]A hallmark of contemporary TDs is the fact that they posit radical cultural and institutional transformations – indeed, a *transition to an altogether different world*. This is variously conceptualised in terms of a paradigm shift, a change of civilisational model, or even the coming of an entirely new era beyond the modern dualist, reductionist, and economic age. This change is often seen as already happening, although most TDs warn that the results are by no means guaranteed." (Escobar 2011: 137-138). Likewise, according to Escobar these TDs account for relational ontologies, that is to say: "...those that eschew the divisions between nature and culture, individual and community, and between us and them that are central to the modern ontology...[...]the evolving pluriverse might be described as a process of planetarisation articulated around a vision of the Earth as a living whole that is always emerging out of the manifold biophysical, human, and spiritual elements and relations that make it up." (Escobar 2011: 138-139) *Good Living Discourse*: belonging to relational and post-dualist ontologies, it is an alternative that emerges in Latin America to face a modern view of progress embodied by the development idea. Inspired by Andean cosmologies (such as Quechua), the phrase "good living" means knowing how to live in harmony with mother Earth's, cosmos', life's, history's cycles and in equilibrium with and respect for all forms of existence. It suggests that achieving this and a sustainable society requires us to overcome the society / nature dichotomy and generate a consciousness of species that implies a new conception of space and time. This conception provides humans with a holistic vision of space that covers all from their own body to the cosmos, insisting on the importance of present time. Also, it eventually proposes a paradigm change, from a dominant cultural mode based on production and consumption patterns to one based on harmony and equilibrium between humans and nature, without thinking of either as subordinate to the other. This discourse influenced the Ecuador and Bolivia constitutions and Ecuador's National Plan for Good Living 2009 – 2013 (Vanhulst and Beling 2013)..

"We are a species that needs to find itself and expand its ethical relationship with the environment beyond their own ego which implies a cultural change...change that must promote values like love - in the broadest sense of the word -, mutual aid, respect for all beings and respect for nature" (Rojas 2003: 3)

Hence, it sets out an ecological and sustainable city where local communities develop their own social, ecological and technological proposals taking into account their own political and environmental conditions from an ecocentric and biocentric⁷² perspective. These perspectives' influence (derived from alternative holism among others), where nature is thought of as 'the mother' (which also implies a different relationship –not dichotomous – between living beings/nature/culture) is clear when considering the following categories, objects and strategies derived from this discourse. The need to develop ecological neighbourhoods, where a community / family live ecologically, in harmony with nature, arises. They are neighbourhoods where relationships between all living beings are respected (humans are not the central axis), practices are far from individualism and consumerism (neoliberalism and modernity) and they are ecologically healthy, that is to say, where people will not become ill, avoiding pollution⁷³.

For this first stage, influence of this type of environmentalist discourses (for instance good living and Ecovillages) as well as of approaches such as Dryzek (1997)⁷⁴ was also observed. Sustainability was reinterpreted and defined critically and holistically so that alternatives generated would ensure the wellbeing of living beings inhabiting our planet in the long run. These alternatives should dispel the tensions between environmental, economic and spiritual values, establish cooperation instead of vertical power methods and imitate nature cycles in order to keep sustainable processes. This aimed at fostering a holistic, sustainable development culture in neighbourhoods (however, this was not defined in the programme's documents) (DAACD 2001). This culture involves adequate technology use, which exists depending on place and ecosystem at issue, encouraging development of

⁷²Biocentrism is a discourse that intends to vindicate the value of life stating that every living being deserves respect. It acknowledges the relationship between humans, nature and living beings in general, and the need for its harmonisation. It also considers that all living beings have the same rights (Rojas 2001a).

⁷³ "Ecobarrios and Ecoaldeas seek to imitate nature: just like in nature, living beings, air, oceans and land surfaces closely need and relate to each other, to make our neighbourhoods more inhabitable we need to work together on economic, physical, environmental, social and spiritual aspects since these reinforce and complement each other. Nature follows cycles such as organic matter renovation and water sources replenishment. In Ecobarrios and Ecoaldeas these cycles are imitated in adequate disposal of organic (animal, plant) waste, for example, so that it can degrade, become soil and support new animal and plant life" (Rojas 2002: 8)

⁷⁴ Sustainability is characterised by its intention to balance three main elements: a) economic – economic growth; b) social – distributive justice; c) environmental – environmental protection. "Sustainable development discourse intends to reconcile anthropocentric and ecocentric worldviews. Therefore, alternatives must be pondered asking not only the experts but also the people. And the way to do this is through genuine participatory and democratic processes...Sustainability emphasises decentralised, exploratory and variable approaches to the pursuit of environmentally benign development. It is exploratory, pluralistic, incremental and looks for creative restructuring of power relations" (Rojas 2001a: 114).

traditional knowledge and avoiding economic dependence. Besides, these facilitate developing social and cultural processes with a stronger sense of identity.

Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated (and as will be better seen in the life stories), the Ecobarrios programme is also a hybrid, where I found very interesting dynamics that account for the strategies designed to deal with constant tensions between the diverse discourses and ontologies (modern and relational – of transition). For example, in this first stage, categories derived from modern and neoliberal logics (and from the city's political rationality - influenced by the NPM perspective) were employed and redefined within these environmentalisms. Firstly, the category of 'progress' started to be measured in terms of harmony and happiness with nature instead of being associated with accumulation of material goods. Also, economy is redefined as home management where in a healthy economy, as in a healthy home, the daily benefits that we receive are the result of a daily ritual of spirituality and coexistence with all beings. Instead of competitiveness, people should remember that love and mutual help are the values that keep us alive. To this end, actions and strategies such as production and exchange of good local products (that do not generate pollution like plastics) were implemented⁷⁵.

Regarding planning, influence from diverse discourses was also identified, not only from eco-city planning. Presence from discourses derived from a postmodern approach, associated with progressive, participative, democratic, fair and capability approaches, was mainly observed⁷⁶. This is seen in categories and objects such as participation, democracy, justice, truth, empowerment, citizens' agency, with the aim of fostering harmonious community development. This is also clear in related strategies; for example, protection, preservation and respect for the diversity of humans, plants and animals, local cultures protected areas as part of human heritage. However, for this first stage, I noticed a greater influence from a participative approach in the programme's theoretical and methodological level⁷⁷. That is why most strategies focused on encouraging development of alternatives and projects from the community, as stated in the programme: 'bottom-up solutions' (such as a development plan for the 'dreamed' neighbourhood) that will promote 'democratic

⁷⁵ I identified other categories such as natural resources and infrastructure with which the same situation is observed, but I present these two as clear examples that account for what I am arguing.

⁷⁶ This approach to planning, which has its roots in postmodern theory, developed in the 80's – 90's with the aim to improve the changes of the cities through tolerance of social diversity, taking into account the existence of differential power relations and of exclusion mechanisms (Sandercock 1998:182).

⁷⁷ This approach, within the frame of postmodern planning (where difference and tolerance are taken into account), seeks to empower people and create alternatives to development (and modernity taking into account different types of knowledge). This approach implies 3 dimensions: a) learning – involves a knowledge production process where other types of knowledge are sources for learning; b) enhancing the room of manoeuvre for those voices involved in knowledge production processes; c) change generating processes (Rojas 2001a)

practices'⁷⁸ and expand liberties, empowerment (individual and collective) and collective decision making processes (e.g. conciliation committees).

As part of this first stage, it is important to highlight that most of the discursive categories, objects and strategies are directly associated with place-making places and processes. The neighbourhood is conceived as the house, the planet our home, besides speaking of a unity consciousness where we all are one; hence, categories like 'sense of belonging' are applied from this perspective, leaving aside ideas such as land possession. In the Ecobarrio, everything is connected, material and immaterial, which is why places as the park is not just a playground but also a place to 'nourish the spirit'. Therefore, implementation of 'peace territories', 'green spaces' and building eco-friendly houses is proposed within this philosophy's framework.

3.2.1.2 Ecobarrios second moment

In 2002 a change of directorship happened and Clemencia Escallón became responsible for Ecobarrios. With her arrival the objective was modified, leaving behind an explicit emphasis at neighbourhood level to highlight DAACD's mission; therefore, the participating *organisations* became *development agents* "...to strengthen the community based organisations and promote their role as integral development agents for our city" (Escallón 2002:3)

In 2003, as Mockus administration ended, the programme finished. Discourse took into consideration that, as part of a democratic and decentralising process, the programme focused on the *empowerment of individuals and communities through bottom-up strategies* (discursive object) in order to give them the opportunity to identify their own problems, solutions and alternatives for development through their *agency* and *democratic and participative planning* (discursive categories). Hence, training of citizens and community leaders in social and labour skills, and community projects (funded by the public and private sectors), aimed to contribute to the city's *competitiveness and inclusiveness* (discursive categories) (Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital 2004).

During this second phase of the programme, the spiritual dimension was renamed as the human. This marked a different emphasis on *human development*, on its capability to generate culture by means of knowledge and personal fulfilment processes aiming at developing each person's potential. Therefore, it centred around: "...the *intentional*

⁷⁸ This is derived from democratic pragmatism. According to Rojas (2001a, 2002, 2003), this approach seeks to make institutions truly democratic so local knowledge will prevail in designed solutions.

construction of human values in order to influence other neighbourhood activities to guarantee their sustainability and impact” (Escallón 2002:7) Human values (discursive categories) such as *coexistence, forgiveness and reconciliation* were considered crucial for this process.

Hence, the creation of a *culture of reconciliation* was promoted in order to avoid violence and feelings like hate due to conflicts and to create *spaces of coexistence* (strategy). Also, the following actions and strategies were proposed, but under the idea that through Ecobarrios public spaces should be considered sacred: developing life projects for the community and not just material ones. The creation of *spaces of forgiveness and reconciliation* for the young and adults. Creating *agreements* and *peace territories* (in neighbourhoods) in order to strengthen respect for one’s word. The creation of *forgiveness and reconciliation networks* at the neighbourhood and city level in order to strengthen their impact on the city’s transformation. The promotion of *inter-institutional actions* at the city level. The encouragement of *leadership, solidarity and cooperation mentality*. The reinforcement of co-creation with Earth and respect for diverse forms of spirituality (Escallón 2002).

Training political leaders and Community based organisations - CBO’s (JAC’s and neighbourhood organisations) in the programme’s philosophy was prioritised in order to strengthen their leadership skills and their neighbourhood community organisation foundations so that in the long term these organisations would replace paternalistic schemes and influence peddling for *transparent technocratic and democratic schemes* (discursive object) (Rojas 2003). The assumption was that such *strengthened organisations* would play a pivotal role in generating sustainable alternatives and hence ‘build an ecological city from the inside (from the community) out’; starting from a holistic approach to development that would not only refer to accumulation of material goods but would also include improving *coexistence, reconciliation, security and relationships with the environment* (discursive categories). Eventually, this was expected to generate high-impact participatory projects⁷⁹ beyond neighbourhood borders, recognising them at the Zonal Planning Units (Unidades de Planeamiento Zonal - UPZ)⁸⁰ and locality, connecting them to

⁷⁹ Participatory planning is understood as a tool to ensure a greater level of rationality.

⁸⁰ The UPZ are territorial units in urban and expansion land constituted by a neighbourhood or group of neighbourhoods. They were defined as planning tools between the locality and neighbourhood level in order to: “...identify homogeneous areas in Bogotá so that they can receive treatment according to their social and economic conditions, prioritising their development and strengthening their inhabitants’ sense of belonging ...as in small villages, every UPZ is conformed by several neighbourhoods that share concerns regarding infrastructure, public services, environmental conditions, public space and commercial activities” (El Tiempo 2001:1-5).

city's planning and context and contributing to *peace and progress* (discursive categories) (Escallón 2002).

Regarding the physical – environmental dimension, the discursive spiritual mantle become diluted and, without leaving previous ideas behind, the programme began to place greater emphasis on propositions (discursive objects) such as: make *rational use of resources*, since *we are protectors and administrators of nature*; avoid *environmental pollution* to care for its beauty and *biodiversity*; attach importance to *public spaces* and see them as playground, exchange and socialisation arenas, and not only places where people can move (Escallón 2002).

For the economic dimension the ideas of the first moment were preserved but emphasis was placed on the need to develop a healthy economy, where natural resources are shared (so that we can all enjoy them) and *security, co-existence and happiness* are generated. Finally, for the social dimension, *citizen security* (discursive category) became an important aspect to facilitate individual's holistic development in a given historical context: *security to allow us to provide for basic needs and exercise our rights* (discursive object) (Escallón 2002).

Regarding the methodology of contest between JAC's, it was set aside during this second stage since competition it was not a practice intended to be fostered by the programme; instead everybody went on to win, promoting *solidarity*. Therefore, the amounts assigned to each project were reduced from a maximum of 60 million Colombian pesos to twelve (from 19000 to 3900 US) discouraging CBOs from applying. The product submitted by each participating CBO, a plan with projects, changed to a project that integrated the four dimensions with a defined line of action (strengthening coexistence, environment, productivity, culture, sports and communication). It then got the UPZ involved rather than the neighbourhood. This change of scale was quite difficult for people as their spatial identification as individuals in the city occur more, according to them, at a neighbourhood level rather than at the UPZ⁸¹. By 2003, it was decided that the DAACD must cease to be executor of projects because it was not its mission; hence Ecobarrios focused on *strengthening community organisation* (discursive object) through projects funded by entities such as Institute of Urban Development (Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano - IDU), IDRD and Popular Housing Fund (Caja de Vivienda Popular - CVP) and continuing training workshops. Ecobarrios developed a methodology of community participation as a

⁸¹ This emphasis level shift was justified taking into account the POT where the city is to be thought in terms of territories and UPZ in order to generate participatory zone planning.

contribution to the integral programme of neighbourhood improvement, which in 2004 took the name of OSP again.

For 2002 and 2003 the amount of related articles published in *El Tiempo* decreased (five for 2002 and one for 2003 - all in the Bogotá section). In 2002, these papers tackled two specific topics: the launch of the Schools of Forgiveness and Reconciliation (Escuelas del Perdon y la Reconciliación - ESPERE) and the Green Leaders' project. With respect to the first one, the informative note addressed launch event information and the *forgiveness and reconciliation* workshop graduation ceremony attended by neighbourhood leaders and inhabitants. The relevance of this initiative was highlighted because it promoted '*peaceful coexistence*' through *conflict resolution*. Regarding the Green Leaders project (for the young), it was associated with a '*natural lifestyle*' involving actions such as waste disposal, recycling, planting trees and saving water, practices that, according to residents, helped to have a *clean and beautiful* neighbourhood. The article explains that young people attended capability building workshops where they learned to: "...design new ways to *work with the community* and develop their wishes to learn and to have a *dreaming and innovative spirit*" with the home green book, and then shared that knowledge in their neighbourhoods" (Ortega 2002).

In 2003, the only relevant article published was about "Eco-barrios and the Eco-housing age". The author explained that for the Ministry of Environment and employees from the Institute of Meteorology and Environmental Studies (Instituto de Meteorología y Estudios Ambientales - IDEAM) Ecobarrios were understood as: "...urban assemblages ecologically thought that make contributions to the city such as *efficient management of resources* and landscape health" (El Tiempo 2003). Eco-houses were described as *decent places* to live built with ecological materials. Furthermore, it is said that the eco-house is not a recipe but a methodology that needs social, cultural and technical input to yield results "...for the *wellbeing of the environment and economy*" (Ortega 2003). Therefore, the Ministry of Environment decided to allocate more funding to build Ecobarrios at the national scale.

For the entire programme, the city Government got funding through loans from the Inter-American Development Bank and World Bank. At the end (2003), 143 CBO's were part of the Programme, located in 16 of the 20 localities of the city (with the exception of Teusaquillo, Antonio Nariño, Candelaria, Sumapaz – see figure 4). These contracts produced 143 launches of 193 community development projects in the long term; they also generated 128 integration, strengthening and coexistence initiatives that were implemented

in the short term. Of the 193 projects, 118 (61%) were located in 26 priority UPZs⁸² of the city and over 70% in stratum 1 and 2. As is shown in figure 5 different types of projects were defined and developed by people according to the lines of action stated⁸³.

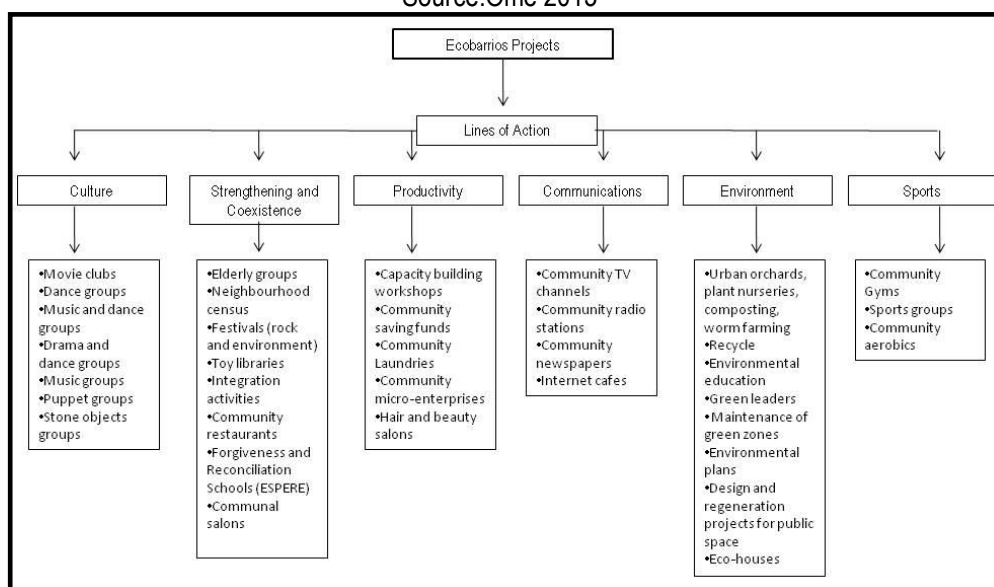
Figure 4. Ecobarrios - Bogotá map (2003)

Source: Ome 2013



Figure 5. Ecobarrios Projects (2003)

Source: Ome 2013



⁸² Priority UPZ are those with highest levels of segregation, exclusion and breach of rights (El Tiempo 2001: 1 – 5)

⁸³ The figure includes some of the projects but not all and it is based on a table that I found in the programme's final report (Rojas 2003).

The programme came to an end in 2004; however, several JAC's in many neighbourhoods continued developing projects initiated by Ecobarrios as those mentioned in figure 5 and even new ones derived from these, as I was able to establish between 2009 and 2013 when I undertook my field work⁸⁴.

Regarding this second moment of Ecobarrios, and based on my discursive analysis of primary sources written by government officials directly involved in the project, and on press articles, I interpreted the following. Upon a change in DAACD directorship in 2002, Clemencia Escallón brought about a turn in the programme's approach. The first thing to be noticed is that the spiritual dimension is now called human, through the application of Sen's approach to liberties and capabilities⁸⁵. Hence, it started to focus on the intentional construction of human values (like forgiveness and reconciliation, also discursive categories), so that sustainability of neighbourhood projects could be guaranteed from human development. Place-based strategies are then proposed; for instance, 'spaces of coexistence', 'spaces of – and networks for - forgiveness and reconciliation', agreements and 'peace territories' in order to promote a 'culture of reconciliation' through conflict resolution. In the same way, as explained, research lines are created to organise JAC's projects and the human dimension is not included. In this way, greater emphasis is placed on the importance of public space, on the social and material, and on the need to encourage capacity building. However, this spiritual approach does not fully disappear, and although it is evidently put aside at the discursive level, ideas such as respect for different forms of spirituality are kept in the documents.

With regard to the programme's ecological component, a variation is evident. The documents exhibit use of an ethnocentric approach (regulatory discourse where nature is seen as a resource) in terms of discursive categories and objects. This in addition to observing a more anthropocentric perspective, which assumes that environmental problems

⁸⁴As mentioned in the introduction, when I began to structure my doctorate project, Ana and Carlos provided me with a database of the JACs presidents who had participated in the programme, and they gave me a ranking of 10 of the most active and of the least, whom I contacted. It was not easy since many had moved; however, those to whom I was able to talk explained that some did carry out projects for some time while they were JAC presidents and received resources from the District. This was relevant because in many cases when a new president took office, projects derived from the programme were left aside, either due to the change of president or lack of funds. In other cases, new presidents, who had also participated in Ecobarrios projects, continued with some of these since they benefited the community. Finally, in other cases, projects were left aside once the programme ended in 2004 because the JAC president was never really committed.

⁸⁵ The capability approach: "...is a theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims: first, the claim that freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value. The approach has been developed in a variety of more specific normative theories, such as (partial) theories of social justice or accounts of development ethics. It has also led to new and highly interdisciplinary literature in social sciences resulting in new statistics and social indicators, and to a new policy paradigm which is mainly used in development studies, the so-called 'human development approach' (Robeyns 2011)

(not nature) - as an object – may be solved by scientific, technological treatment with democratic participation or with new market regulations. This aims at reconciling economic development with preservation and efficient management of resources in order to reduce poverty levels and protect biodiversity. This is associated with what environmentalisms have labelled an eco-sustainable modernity perspective⁸⁶ (Palacio and Ulloa 2002) and ecological modernisation (Martínez 2002 and Dryzek 1997)⁸⁷. Also, for Dryzek (1997), administrative rationalism belongs to the environmental problem solving discourses. This explains why the programme starts mentioning that a 'good economy' is not just one that produces money, but that where natural and human resources are used without exhausting them.

In regard to strategies and practices at this stage of the programme, concrete actions, associated with the material (leaving the spiritual aside) were suggested by Ecobarrios coordinators; for example, improvement of infrastructure, construction of parks, recycling, water and energy saving. All this placed greater emphasis on 'beautification of public spaces', not only as part of the neighbourhood but also of the city to create an 'ecologically healthy' lifestyle. This relates to an ecological consciousness, a more 'superficial' one, associated with change of daily activities rather than with an ontological change as such.

However, ideas derived from ecocentric approaches, spiritual ecology and more postmodern planning (like holistic development – as in the first stage) were still present, although to a lesser extent. This in turn created greater discursive and ontological tension within the programme. This emerged because the change in direction did not imply that the first stage approach was left totally aside; again, this will be made clear by the analysis of the interviews and life stories.

With respect to influence from planning discourses, in this second stage greater emphasis was placed on a rational, administrative, technical and instrumental comprehensive planning model that also influenced the environmental rhetoric to formulate the relationship between people and resources. This aimed at contributing to the city's competitiveness, progress and

⁸⁶ Eco-sustainable modernity: "...does not question current relationships between humans and their surrounding, which are framed by the modern notion of nature – culture relation, or the current economic and political system. In this tendency, environmentalist movements – and discourses – called for superficial ecology and centred only on pollution problems and scarcity of resources rather than on general social and economic causes in global environmental crisis. It does not question the notion of nature either ... that is to say, the notion of modern nature, where it is defined as an external entity opposed to the human; this leads to environmental solutions being formulated only in the biophysical environment and not in the interrelation of societies and their surroundings." (Palacio and Ulloa 2002: 221)

⁸⁷ For Martínez (2002) ecological modernisation belongs to environmentalist discourses associated with (gospel of) eco-efficiency. It relates to the belief in technology and economy and market's external aspects as instruments for ecological modernisation. It considers nature as a resource. For Dryzek (1997), ecological modernisation belongs to sustainability discourses and is related to subordination of nature, connection to progress and the idea that environmental protection and economic prosperity go together.

inclusiveness, with influences from NPM. The presence of these was also observed strategies proposed to improve neighbourhood infrastructure as well as in the generation of 'safe spaces or places'⁸⁸ in order to increase security (a neoliberal discourse category) in neighbourhoods and the city.

Postmodern approaches to planning, such as collaborative planning, informed the idea of a participative and democratic planning and were kept from the previous phase. Therefore, this served to further promote individual and collective citizen empowerment through "bottom up strategies", based on pedagogical principles such as learning by doing. However, more emphasis was placed on the role of CBO's and on strengthening the role of leaders as agents of development, not only in their neighbourhood but also at city scale, building upon values such as coexistence, solidarity, cooperation and leadership. Likewise, in practical terms, participation was fettered when coordinators 'suggested' activities to be done as acknowledged by some of the officials I interviewed.

Based on this discursive analysis, associated with the institutional level, it is also clear that in the same way as in this Mayor's Office's planning hybrid scenario (involving diverse discursive formations), the project changed; although, it would be called 'hybrid in tension', in this case. Initially, Ecobarrios was created with (at least) a true intention to establish a change: from an industrial, capitalist, modern paradigm to an ecological and spiritual one. Thus, it could be said that it emerged as a proposal that can be associated with a genuine eco-city planning perspective, linked to the alternative holistic approach (relational ontology); even when in the discourse (as I have illustrated), it employed discursive categories and objects from rationalities such as those derived from modernism (due to its political context). However, with the change in DAACD directorship, this ideal collided with the new approach. This resulted in a logic where, - without leaving the eco-city planning mantle aside, but from a modern eco-sustainable perspective (ontology of disconnection), these environmental discourses were employed to beautify the city, help communities in the UPZ and contribute to their progress and development (starting from infrastructure works). All this will be better understood in the last section of this chapter thanks to the voices of the human beings behind the officials in charge of this project.

What exactly was established with regard to the people in this programme? Was the construction of a particular type of subject dictated within the framework of these 'discursive

⁸⁸ They are defined as every physical, human and social space where they live in peace with each other, with one's conscience and with the city's laws and norms.

formations'? I will use the eco-governmentality analysis tool to answer these questions in the following section.

3.2.2 Ecobarrios stages and their eco-political subjects through an eco-governmentality magnifier

As said from the beginning one of my interests with this project is to continue delving into the contributions that anthropology can make to development studies and the collective construction of alternatives from the pluriverses (that represent different ways to see reality). One of these contributions is to understand that projects such as this create new categories of persons and explore whether people take ownership of these categories and how they incorporate them into their daily lives (since their sustainability depend on the people and this will also depend on other factors; for example, on how participative the programme design and implementation process has been). Hence, it is essential to complete a discursive analysis, as the one I have done, since the subject is constructed through discourses (Foucault 1994).

During the first programme stage, the following dynamic is observed. On the one hand, it promotes the construction of ecological beings/subjects which entails tension between the non-subjects (connected) – subjects (disconnected). This arises because, following TDs and alternative holistic ecocentric perspectives (which speak of liberation of the modern self), it sought to provide people (as part of their process to stop being subjected) with the opportunity as spiritual and human beings to express and validate their local and traditional knowledge (pluriverse), which could be different from a modern paradigm. Likewise, person - beings would be able to access and get to know diverse paradigms and wisdom so that they could understand other ways of seeing, understanding and living the world (not dual, or totally rational), where, for example, the mind, body and spirit are one and live in harmony, connected with other beings, nature and the planet. Eventually, this could allow us all to take into consideration this not modern discourse to choose them (freely, if we connect with them) and reconsider or consciously build new alternative and sustainable paradigms with an open mind, and in a reflexive–critical, voluntary and active manner. Some paradigms, as some of those from current indigenous and afro descendant groups, consist of holistic (not dichotomous) approaches to the dimension of spirituality, economy, and social organisation framed by re-appropriation of nature. Also, for some of these paradigms there are social mechanisms based on (discursive categories such as) 'cooperation', 'solidarity', 'unconditional love', 'respect', and truth in horizontal, harmonious relationships, and science and spirituality (not religion) work together. Thus, these paradigms promote an alternative to develop ecological self and beings that are coextensive with other beings and life on the

planet, different from the modern self based on ego, disconnection and duality (Leff 2010; Ulloa 2008). All of this applies not only at a personal but also a collective level.

Nonetheless, tensions arise when these discourses about construction of ecological beings and communities start to connect; for example, with (discursive) processes of place-making through certain actions or strategies. As we have seen, in this context the ecological is associated with the idea (discursive object) that the spiritual and the material are totally and harmoniously connected. Therefore, it is suggested that this construction be developed through activities allowing us to cultivate our spirit, connect to and live in harmony with nature (there is no emphasis on which activities; it is expected that people will decide on them). At the same time, it proposes to develop infrastructure works to improve the neighbourhood (conceived as home), which must be inhabited by citizens (subjects) that must respect basic norms (dictated by the government) and the public. In this way, tensions emerge since this option, initially offered by the Ecobarrios project to develop ecological subjects (spiritual no-subjects), occurs within a (discursive and institutional) hybrid framework. Meanwhile, there was the government programme promoting construction of more 'political, educated and civilised' subjects, where 'ecological' meant something different from the one proposed by Ecobarrios in its beginning. As already mentioned, Ecobarrios is based on discourses that promoted recognition of pluriverse and generation of a paradigm change; while the government programme and institutions themselves (derived from the State's structure and influences from market logics, among others) are framed by modernity's matrix. Hence, tension remained for the duration of the programme (I will further analyse these through life stories).

In this first stage, although emphasis was mainly placed on construction in tension of ecological subjects/beings, the construction of (eco) – political subjects/beings was also promoted. From discourses derived from alternative holism, the programme promoted free (by reflexive choice) development of beings who retake their inner power, reconnect with their inner being (soul and spirit) to generate awareness of themselves and their unity with everything else around them, re-assessing their own, traditional and local knowledge that has been made invisible by modernity's matrix. Therefore, personal empowerment and nature re-appropriation are promoted since collective change and humanity's continuation will depend on these transformation and actions by the people. In this case, the programme's slogan is associated with the idea of building that ecological city from internal personal change to transform the outside.

When it comes to connecting this to the urban context and place-making processes of the people that live in Bogotá neighbourhoods, empowering leaders and JACs emerges as a need (within the progressive – participative institutional logic) in order to strengthen CBO's and/or social processes or organisations (as they are called in Bogotá). In this way, they sought to strengthen and foster a 'democratic and participative culture' and promote development of a 'neighbourhood identity'. In this case, identity is understood as one built based on recognition and validity of different Knowledges, local and cultural knowledge (different from the modern matrix) that may be found in these neighbourhood and urban places (for example, peasants, afro-descendants, indigenous groups who arrive in the city and were displaced by rural violence or in search of opportunities). Knowledge diversity may be used to establish more harmonious relationships between people and nature, but in the city, not in the country, coasts and jungle (Rojas 2003). The idea of promoting the strengthening of these identities, based on place, aimed at generating opportunities for contact, communication and personal and community processes that would facilitate collective, participative decision making. This makes evident the programme's hybrid-tense-dynamics since where, for example, the category of identity as subjectivity - (extracted from Mockus' government programme where urban identity also features and which for authors like Bolivar (2006) has been used and normalised by actors such as the State-nation), is used as constituent for defining modern (political) subjects:

"State's constant formation is inseparable from consolidation of perception, knowledge and behaviour regulation forms that set new limits to individual action and redefine all interaction social fields, as well as identities... through these people experience as determined types of beings with certain types of capabilities and qualities..." (Bolivar 2006:54)

Nonetheless, in this case – at this stage, according to documents and life stories, identity was used as part of a more participative approach that sought to empower people, encouraging them and 'neighbourhood communities' to reflect about the structures that subdued them, their relationship with nature, among others.

In this way, I came to the interpretation that although construction of eco-political beings from alternative holism prevailed, this happened in tension – hybridisation dynamics with influence from modernity's matrix, promoting construction of political rather than ecological subjects (with subjectivities) defined in different ways. Therefore, an ontological tension arose in the process of constructing organic beings, immersed in their surroundings, with a new understanding of their human condition in ecological conditions and a critical conscience of not only themselves but also of their connection with other beings and re-appropriation of nature. This allows people, from their de-construction as subjects, to search

for alternatives (based on pluriverses) in order to attempt transforming reality and (modern) structures that subject them.

This opposed rational, individual, separate, 'autonomous' subjects (guided mainly by a market economic rationality) who had a conscience of themselves for themselves, where the objective world (uni-verse) is the only one validated as real, but who, at the same time, (under well-being rationalities) must be 'good citizens' (with subjectivities) and behave according to State imposed norms (Leff 2010).

For example, the ESPERE, one of the flagship strategies implemented as part of the Ecobarrios spiritual dimension according to my interviewees, had one of the highest impacts in Lombardía (my case study). This project was designed by one of the people in charge of the spiritual dimension, (Consolata religious missionary) father Leonel Narváez, a philosopher, theologian, sociologist with a University of Cambridge MA degree and Harvard PhD, and human rights and nature advocate. The father designed it in collaboration with other members of the DAACD economic team during the programme's first stage, but it was implemented in the second stage. Starting from the premise that violence and its consequences involve high economic, social and psychological costs (both at collective and individual levels), these schools aimed at helping people to:

"...learn to constructively manage our emotions, particularly our anger, hate and resentments. If we do not do this, we keep some poison inside that will paralyse and stop us from advancing as persons and community in the long run. This helps us to prevent those violent actions, which for lack of control, we may take against others and that may have very serious consequences on our lives. Deep down, personal, family, neighbourhood and city violence is first caused by our inability to deal with our emotions" (Narváez and Rojas 2001:3)

Thus, schools were intended to become specialised centres where people could learn a new culture of peace, constructive transformation and conflict resolution in spaces of:

"...collective construction and understanding that respect participants' ethnic, political and religious differences, as experiential and conceptual approaches of their cultures, ideologies or cosmogonies, which contribute to the proposal for forgiveness and reconciliation" (DAACD 2002:9)

At these centres, people's diverse experiences with regard to nature and other living beings as examples of harmonious and peaceful coexistence were considered. This aimed at preventing internal resentment (and corruption) from arising among people, and the JAC's, "since an ill JAC was dangerous for the city and its participative dynamics" (Narváez and Rojas 2001:3). Then, it was about establishing ESPERE in every neighbourhood; they could

be formed by groups of 8 to 12 people (initially, adults; then teenagers and adults) who would 'rigorously' get together to learn to deal with anger, hatred, resentment and desire for revenge caused by offences they may have taken from friends, relatives, neighbours or strangers or due to the generalised violence in the country (Narváez and Rojas 2001). In order to achieve this, 3 or 4 people 'who for their moral integrity, example of coexistence and service to their community' attended training to become encouragers of ESPERE and 'soul trainers' in their neighbourhoods.

In 2002, at the second stage of Ecobarrios, these schools were implemented, and a private Company 'Crecemos Psicólogos Asesores' – were hired and the DAACD published a booklet as support material. In the booklet the changes in discourse between directorships became obvious, which does not mean that what was said and done for Ecobarrios during the first stage was left aside. Concretely, it was emphasised that ESPERE were implemented as a contribution to Bogotá's and the whole country's *co-existence, security and peace* (discursive categories):

"...in order to cultivate spirituality, that is to say, reaching the city's heart's most intimate, and from there bring afloat and share the citizens' most beautiful and rich qualities so that renovating reviving healing will happen for Bogotá's soul... to facilitate the city's comprehensive development and progress, managing to reduce levels of violence and backwardness, starting from individuals and neighbourhood organisations that will nurture social and spiritual capital ..." (DAACD 2002:7)

Consequently, emphasis was placed on strategies such as working on *forgiveness, reconciliation, reducing negative emotions* (fear, anxiety, sadness, wrath, shame, aversion) and *promoting positive emotions* (happiness, joy, love and humour) both individually and collectively, through methodologies such as group therapy where collective knowledges were shared. This aimed at creating new citizen behaviour values of *coexistence and peace* like 'civility', 'responsibility', 'truth', 'justice' and 'sociability' and *conceiving the public as sacred* (discursive categories and objects). Specifically, therapies of self were implemented as strategies to foster construction of *compassionate and political subjects*, for example, able to self-regulate (DAACD 2002). It is worth highlighting that the ESPERE are still in place today, not only in Colombia but also in 14 other countries; it has received several awards including the 2006 UNESCO Education for Peace Honourable Mention (Narváez 2015).

In this way, the ESPERE serve as an example to draw attention to the complex hybrid tensions and dynamics I have previously mentioned, in this specific case with respect to the construction of ecological and political subjects/beings during both Ecobarrios stages. From

the start of the project, it can be observed that it is designed by the DAACD's (academic) officials and not by the people, which contradict principles from discourses such as alternative holism, which propound free and voluntary (not subdued) evolution of the being. It also differs from the participative approach contemplated by the Ecobarrios project and Mockus' government, but it resonates with the capabilities (from the Ecobarrios second stage) and pedagogical (Mockus) approach, evincing tensions that arose when this type of ideas from alternative holism was materialised in this (political, institutional and ontological) hybrid context. This will be further clarified in section 4.2.

Thus, although from the beginning Ecobarrios attempted to empower grassroots organisations so that they would foster their development, and although it allowed JAC to develop their own projects, the ESPERE suggest a type of specific intervention in the social ambit, which may or may have not been included in the problems identified by the grassroots organisations: emotional conflicts as a source of urban violence. This type of intervention may be considered more articulate than the idea of Ecobarrios as a place of harmony among humans. From this perspective, the schools served to foster construction of a certain type of subject, which in the first stage were presented as 'persons' and then as 'individuals', as 'compassionate and political subjects' (part of the 'social and spiritual capital'). However, from the design and then its implementation they were conceived as 'citizens' who had to learn to 'control and manage' their emotions to be 'civilised' and thus contribute to the city's and country's 'progress rather than regress'. By means of psychological language expressed in terms of 'anger', 'resentment', 'forgiveness', 'negative emotions' and 'positive emotions'; techniques for social harmony, non-violence, and peace such as exercises for breathing, reflection, self-recognition and acknowledgement of others, and of the psychologists' authority, the ESPERE played an important role in making people a certain type of subjects (Rose 2007).

These subjects were initially presented as ecological – hence spiritual – subjects/beings, conscious of their connection with other living beings, but later on they were presented as individuals still ecological – for they are spiritual, but more focused on their role as citizens who must learn to self-regulate and live in a more civilised manner to contribute to their neighbourhood's and city's progress. However, during both stages of the schools, this ecological dimension was above all focused on the spiritual and relationships between humans (and not with other living beings).

Thus, it can be said that the ESPERE worked (not only for their hybrid setting) as a technology of the self, which prompted psychologisation of daily life through a therapeutic-

expert discourse, therapeutic practices ('cures of the soul') and dissemination of a type of behaviour and lifestyle (Rose 2007). This explains the influence of a modern - neoliberal (eco)-governmentality which employs a therapeutic authority to learn to exert self - governance, from the perspective of the spiritual as part of the ecological (whose meaning is transformed) (Shore 2010), achieving responsible, individual and collective 'empowerment' and therefore, strengthening social and spiritual capital. Likewise, it can be said that the schools also worked as citizenship technology, explaining influence from the (eco)-governmentality of well-being that sought to civilise individuals, turning them into citizens that must comply with behaviour norms and regulations (Rose 2007). In both cases, these dynamics implied a connection with place-making processes stressing on neighbourhood scale.

I will now examine the turn in Ecobarrios' second stage with regard to the construction of these eco-political beings/subjects/identities. The 'spiritual' dimension was labelled 'human' when the directorship changed, leaving aside discourses such as those of the spiritual and deep ecology. This meant that the spiritual - ecological subject/being was diluted and became a (disconnected from the spiritual) subject/individual/human with a more 'political' role. This occurs since emphasis was put on the importance of empowering individuals and the community so they will propose their own alternatives (projects) towards development. Therefore, changing 'our communities' into ecological neighbourhoods requires transforming behaviours, participation and ability to be agents of new development, directly working with the JAC's (as neighbourhood's revitalising axis) and their chairs (who had lost their convening power):

"Ecobarrios recommends for CBO's to learn, through practice, to strengthen their own community leadership in social, human, economic and environmental development, considering individual development, gender perspective, inclusion of new actors, ecological awareness, participative planning, appreciative communication and other vital issues as engines for encouraging and guiding a new CBO's role. Likewise, it suggests leaders to transform their leadership and convening strategies to generate development within a framework of independence, empowerment, self-management and proposal of new ideas and objectives for their community. Thus, the project seeks to empower and allow access to decision making settings for populations who have not yet participated in local settings... strengthening democracy from the individuals". (Rojas 2003:11)

The construction of 'political-planners subjects' (individual and collective) is encouraged; that is to say that they will know how to plan their lives at personal and family levels (family size, years of study, etc.) as part of a 'planning culture':

“...from the set of people’s values, customs, habits and actions regarding prevision, test or diagnosis of life situations. Planning culture does not only improve citizens’ personal and family life, but also their community and social surroundings, and it allows better and greater participation in planning processes for wider ambits such as their neighbourhood, locality, district, municipality, department, nation” (Escallón 2002:19)

This is complemented by their ‘responsible management of freedom’, which in this concrete case allows to generate alternatives to development but within the DAACD’s predetermined framework of 6 lines: environment, productivity, communications, sport and recreation, culture, strengthening of social organisation and co-existence – which no longer includes the spiritual.

Ecobarrios was then expected to enable people to be ‘exemplary citizens’, respectful of the norm, proud of their city – its progress – and their home country (urban and national identity) and politically active. The assumption was that citizens would then be able to promote and be part of ‘model ecological communities’, which through mobilisation and neighbourhood development would foster holistic sustainable development. All this entailed strengthening social capital considering the capabilities approach in order to generate horizontal networks and relations that would guarantee long term sustainability (Rojas 2003).

Thus, the proposal for construction of hybrid political subjects is evident, given the influence from diverse discourses such as the progressive one, and the participative and democratic discourse, which mixed with traits from spiritual ecology, sought to promote horizontal power structures rather than vertical ones, based on community organisations formed around values such as cohesion, solidarity and collaboration; and composed of active citizens who are capable of mobilising them. However, it also talked about ‘civilised citizens’ who would follow norms and had to be trained and educated by (academic) experts to do so, explaining the influence of a modern instrumental rationality and the State’s paternalist welfare approach of the Mockus government. All this was done for the city’s development and progress, indicating the presence of ideas from the NPM approach.

With regard to the proposal of constructing ecological subjects, at this stage a modern and dichotomous rationality returns; the environment (as a category, not nature) is considered apart from men, as something external. Hence, it emphasises on the human dimension (no longer spiritual) as the basis for a community’s ecological functioning where the man–individual must develop an ecological awareness. This will enable him to adopt ‘adequate environmental behaviours’ in agreement with a culture of care for the environment (its conservation and preservation), which at the same time will allow him to improve his (spatial

– place) surroundings to have better quality of life. This will be possible thanks to actions as to raise awareness of people's role and impact as (external) change agents on nature and their surroundings, thence the need to change their habits. Then, practices such as inadequate rubbish, water, electricity, and toxic waste management (such as accumulation in green areas) are rejected; while others (adequate use and management of rubbish, water, waste, electricity and knowledge of procedures associated to disaster prevention) are promoted, fostering habits such as cleanliness, recycling, etc. and values such as harmony and freedom. At this stage, unlike the first, concrete activities - as those above - are emphasised.

Hence, the construction of ecological subjects is promoted with greater influence from eco-sustainable modernity, underscoring the community (as a category from modernity, somewhat homogenising constituent of a vertical power structure), leaving the being and particularities of local knowledges aside. It seeks to change behaviours and habits of those concerned with environmental impacts of production and consumption patterns and city's (and public space) beautification, according to what institutions consider 'environmentally adequate' (Leff 2011).

The latter explains eco-governmentality's influence, which uses technologies of the self for subjects to change their behaviours, habits and lifestyles becoming 'planners' and 'eco-friendly citizens'. A clearer example of the latter is the 'Green Leaders' project. This project was implemented in late 2002 by Fundación Humana with resources from the DAMA, with the aim to promote young ecological leadership in Bogotá's neighbourhoods. The young people who attended graduated as 'green leaders' and their task was to promote 'voluntary eco-friendly behaviours' as outlined in the Home Green book published by the DAMA (2002). This manual aimed at constructing a new (control) mechanism:

"...which would promote good citizens ...in a setting as global warming... voluntary behaviours that will help to build the urban environment ... [and]... reduce the cost of utility bills we pay." (DAMA 2002:2)

To this end, strategies focused on improving public space infrastructure and norms to prevent inadequate behaviours are suggested. In the same way, the book encouraged behaviours such as water and electricity saving (for resource control), through specific actions such as spending shorter time periods showering and always switching unused lights; keeping the house 'clean' with water, soap, vinegar, lemon, and salt to avoid using toxic products; development of urban agriculture, recycling and pet care. All these are developed bearing in mind every space in the house: kitchen, bathroom, study, patio, roof-

top, and neighbourhood public spaces (pavements, parks, etc.). Finally, this manual talks about how important it is to behave in a certain way when doing the shopping, such as using a fabric bag, trolley or basket, buying eco-friendly products, which do not damage the environment and contain natural ingredients since:

“Every human being must have a dignified and healthy life. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to relate with the environment and use resources ...The most fortunate will realise that moderate consumption is enough to be happy.” (DAMA 2002:3)

Thus, through this project, by means of normalisation, the construction of new ‘eco – friendly citizens’ was sought implementing new ecological manners of feeling, thinking, speaking and doing, features of a government technology. This presents influences, among other things, from neoliberal discourses that based on categories such as ‘consumption, resources, responsibility, control’ foster certain ‘ecological self-regulation’ practices and behaviours. These are associated with market technologies and dynamics under environmentalisms’ mantle, providing the young with a ‘green’ political role in their neighbourhoods and communities. However, influence from moral discourses of wellbeing is also observed; these talk of ‘good citizens’ who must learn to behave in ecologically adequate ways. It is important to stress that this construction is associated with a place-based process, where a certain (dichotomous) type of ‘ecologically conscious’ relation with (external) surroundings, even with objects that make places such as the house, neighbourhood and city exists.

Finally, this type of place-based subject construction process was linked to fostering a ‘(urban) (collective) neighbourhood identity’ as subjectivity, which was associated with resignification of public space, valuing it as a place with diverse functionality (socialisation, play, rest, exchange) and not only intended for movement (Rojas 2003). In the same way as the domestic, home spaces were defined and what to do in them: in the study you work and learn; the kitchen is the heart of the home, from where our habits may be modified, keeping in mind ecological ideas. This is done without considering people's previous perceptions so they end up becoming pedagogical places of change where these institutional practical discourses meet with people's daily feeling-thinking-doing (as will be shown in chapter 4).

It is worth highlighting that the programme was only applicable in legalised neighbourhoods; so those which were not yet legalised could not be included in this construction of eco-political subjects and subjectivities at city level. Thus, in this case fostering construction of a particular identity like this one, as well as this type of subjects, served as an instrument to

promote or define an action matrix (or a structure of possibilities⁸⁹). This defined the parameters explained above for people's actions encouraging 'ecological' transformation of their individual and collective behaviour (Bolívar 2006; Escobar, Álvarez and Dagnino 2001). Then, the Ecobarrios programme's proposal for place-based construction of eco-political subjects with neighbourhood-urban identities was a hybrid proposal influenced by diverse dynamics and discourses according to changes in the DAACD direction. Therefore, Ecobarrios may be understood as a hybrid government technology of production of the political (individual and collective forms of self-government, and governing) at neighbourhood level, within eco-governmentality logics; although, as shown earlier, when the programme was originally thought and designed, this was not the objective.

In terms of urban environmental politics, the reconstruction of the public history of the Ecobarrios programme also shows the following: the history of the institutional trajectory shows how from the consideration of urban nature (as a resource, environment or nature) as a valid actor in planning, new eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities are being generated. In this case subjects, subjectivities and identities, are not entirely inclusive, since informal neighbourhoods are excluded from the programme. Many of these neighbourhoods are located in forest reserve areas, such as the eastern hills or wetlands, whose inhabitants would not be considered as eco-political subjects. This shows the politicisation of these dynamics, and the co-optation of environmental discourses, which has a direct effect on the spatial distribution of cities. Hence, now in cities there are certain zones, informal and illegal neighbourhoods like in this case, which are inhabited by people who have been struggling to legalise their neighbourhoods or end their legalisation processes. These zones are not included in these models of sustainable and eco-friendly cities due to diverse economic and political interests.

Likewise, it was observed how innovative and important the inclusion of the spiritual dimension was, (later called human), in terms of urban environmental governance. In the beginning this dimension had a holistic approach, so that people voluntarily connected with their inner self and understood their connection with all living beings and therefore with urban nature. In the second part the approach changed. The human perspective shifted this dimensions focus on giving people tools (such as ESPERE) to learn to manage emotions. As well as living in communities and developing decision making processes that are more inclusive, from the training of empowered and trained citizens. In this scenario, the later

⁸⁹ It is not fixed but in continues transformation, typical of a specific historical and cultural moment.

sought to contribute to facilitate, develop and strengthen bases for incipient urban governance associated with the environmental issues in Bogotá.

Regarding the multi-scalar analysis, this first approach to the institutional trajectory of the programme, allowed for observation of how global environmental discourses are assimilated and reinterpreted from the local, from the representations and the needs of the people behind the government officials, generating hybrids in tension such as Ecobarrios. People who not only make part or construct this institutional level (as will be seen in the next chapter), but in turn are crossed and build other scales such as the local. The later begins to account for the complexity of the multi-scalar analysis, the pros and cons of the emphasis on the place, to understand issues such as urban environmental politics and governance, which will be observed throughout the following analytical chapters.

After analysing the Ecobarrios official discourse, focused on this place-based construction of eco-political subjects and identities as subjectivities, I will move into a very interesting chapter from an anthropological point of view. This chapter explains the untold story, the non-official version of the programme: the one told by the people behind the officials 9 years after it ended.

Chapter 4. Talking about Ecobarrios: Planners' Representations of Eco-political Subjects and Subjectivities

In this chapter, planners' representations identified through the political and development ethnographic approach⁹⁰ will be analysed and compared with the official Ecobarrios discourses, exploring their connections and disconnections (continuities and discontinuities). This will be done with the objective to reconstruct Ecobarrios (official-public and not official-intimate) history (at the macro level of the city) not just from public documents but also taking into account the cultural representations, narratives, perceptions and discourses of the people behind the institutional actors involved in this project. This section will contribute to reflecting on city production processes and the programme's eco-governmentality sources; that is to say more precisely the processes that gave birth to the eco-governmentality embraced by this major initiative which allowed me to characterise, contextualise and comprehend how this institutional path of construction of eco-political subjects has emerged.

4.1 The untold story of Ecobarrios from the people behind the officials

As part of the 'institutional phase', and under the influence of the political ethnography approach⁹¹, between May and July 2012 and August and January 2013, I carried out ten semi-structured and in-depth interviews⁹² (through the use of a questionnaire – annex 2) reaching most officials who were responsible for the design, implementation and management of the programme at the DAACD, including Ana and Carlos (annex 3).

I selected the interviewees taking into account the information that Ana and Carlos gave me and also the identification of actors from primary and secondary sources. I had only one extensive meeting with each as they all hold high positions and therefore had little time. However, I have remained in contact with most of them and they have sent me programme documentation via email. These interviews allowed me to approach the subjective aspects of the institutional processes related to the programme after 9 years of its implementation⁹³. This was very interesting not only to understand its genesis but also to complement aspects associated with the selection of certain discourses (institutional discursive categories) and

⁹⁰ Such ethnographies take into account the perspectives of the various actors not only "community" in order to understand the multi-scale (global –local, etc.) dynamics (of power) multi-scalar dynamics and those between the practices and discourses associated with politics of place (Schatz 2009).

⁹¹ For this research I was not able to develop a proper political ethnography, through participant observation, because none of the actors associated with the programme were still working for the DAACD.

⁹² These interviews feature open questions led by the researcher's interests.

⁹³ It is important to bear in mind that as time passes memory starts to fail and there are details that they did not always remember very clearly.

practices connected with Ecobarrios dimensions and the construction of these (hybrid) eco-political subjects and identities (as subjectivities).

Firstly, I will analyse some parts of the interview with former Mayor Mockus, which provided me with some very interesting contextual facts about the subject⁹⁴. With respect to his two mayoral periods (as it can be seen from the transcript - annex 4) he emphasised how important it was for him to work with academics to generate pedagogical – participative methodologies and rely on that expert knowledge for generating his government programmes. His government's actions were built on his leading premise (discursive object): “education and behaviour regulation are bases for productivity” (Mockus, pc, 20/06/12). He believed that transferring the State's responsibility to the citizen, as part of decentralisation processes, ensures educating the latter and preparing him for that responsibility. This accounts for the hybrid approach of his mayoral periods, with influence from modern instrumental rationality and from participative progressive perspective and ideas derived from market-led logics, NPM and the welfare State.

With respect to Ecobarrios, our conversation enabled me to understand the reason behind the two programme's stages. In a diplomatic and instructive manner, Dr. Mockus explained how Isabel Londoño (DAACD's director in 2001) and he held different views about OSP and Ecobarrios. He supported OSP's continuity since he had worked in it from the beginning. However, he was interested in Ecobarrios because:

“... it was an attractive idea... much more holistic, which included several dimensions and had a very interesting gender approach that caught my attention...it was a more ambitious idea if you like than OSP... more anchored on and up to date with international debates, for example, on environmental issues, which was thought had to be priority ...” (Mockus, pc, 20/06/12)

That is why he decided to support it; he trusted Isabel, whom he knew had proposed the project because she had heard about it from her daughter Ana, who was interested in ecological issues applied at neighbourhood and local levels and had written her undergraduate dissertation on Eco-villages and Ecobarrios. However, Isabel left after a year and this caused uneasiness at DAACD (with her work group), and Dr. Mockus was not pleased either because he had opened the space for her project. For Dr. Mockus this fact affected the project's reach.

⁹⁴ The same applies to the other interviews, which unfortunately I will not be able to fully analyse due to space limitations. Hence, I selected those sections directly associated with my subject matter.

With regard to the environmental aspect, he considered that 'resources' must be preserved; for example, by saving water and electricity, and keeping public spaces such as parks to embellish the city. Nonetheless, he thought that the most important issue was to defend human life since 'life is sacred' (discursive object) and he thought it was better to let environmentalists do their job. This reveals Dr. Mockus' more dichotomous rather than ecocentric conception of the environmental and ecological as a resource, in line with eco-sustainable modernity and not alternative holism, basis of the project.

With respect to the spiritual component, he stated that he did not entirely agree with its inclusion, although he respected it, because he associated it with a religious aspect that he thought could make the programme implementation difficult. Finally, regarding the people, he said that although he was not so involved with Ecobarrios because he trusted Isabel, the general idea was that through the initiatives supported by the programme a 'pedagogical outcome' (discursive object) would be obtained. Transforming people's (subjects) behaviours in such manner, through norms and subjectivities, was essential to strengthen decentralisation, organisation, participation and citizen self-regulation processes, and implementation of values such as 'solidarity and civility' (discursive categories) so that collective conscience could be generated. This again underscores his mandate's hybrid character and the political context of the time. It is then observed, that it promoted hybrid governmentality with influence from the welfare State, NPM logics and progressive perspectives.

My conversation with Isabel Londoño, business manager with MA in Education and PhD in social politics from Harvard and DACCD director in 2001, also yielded useful information (photo 8). The dialogue with this holistic coach and renowned leader in women and gender issues, who describes herself as a pedagogue, was quite interesting since it allowed me to understand other, non-official, aspects about the programme's origin and development such as the following (as can be seen in annex 5). About Ecobarrios' genesis, she had inherited OSP and, as a pedagogue, she had analysed that programme's pedagogical outcome in terms of what people were learning (since it was her first time as a government official). She realised then that it was something very positive but at the same time very specific based on carrying out particular works and she wanted to develop a programme where the 'pedagogical outcomes' (discursive object) were more holistic. She was interested in providing people with opportunities to participate in planning, fostering a real democracy where infrastructure was not the priority (this derived from her PhD thesis which sought to establish what people learn from decentralisation). Thus, with this idea in mind, she started to search for a project that would allow this:

“...and something magical happened...on a trip to Villa de Leyva with my daughter, Ana Maria, who told me about her [undergraduate] dissertation on Ecovillages and Ecobarrios and I thought this is what I need... because it was a programme that forced people to see the city from an holistic perspective, and mainly forced them to prioritise and intervene in several ways, taking into account all dimensions...the idea was that people would learn at micro level, in the neighbourhood, in order to participate in the locality's and city's development plans...it was like a game where the idea was for people to experience tension between limited resources and multiple needs so that they would realise the need for prioritising...Ecobarrios was a game to learn to plan and to empower people both as individuals and collectives... that is why they were also offered training... it is important to clarify that one did not start being an Ecobarrio...Ecobarrios was a vision at that point, so the idea is that one worked towards it...[...].All of this agreed with the idea of a democratic city...because how can one have a democracy where people do not know how to participate?...a city with more equality of voices... what I was really interested in was the participation perspective ... that is why an Ecobarrios' axis was training” (Isabel, pc, 19/06/12)

Photo 8. Isabel Londoño and Ana María Aristizabal
Source: personal file Aristizabal 2001



Isabel thought of ending OSP and implementing Ecobarrios as a flagship project but Mockus did not allow it because it was one of his favourite programmes. However, she was allowed to create Ecobarrios and she did this initially as an additional programme (as shown in the programme's documentation). She refers to Ecobarrios as a programme and it so appears on the documents she shared with me, as well as the symbol while Dr. Mockus calls it project, as it appears in the government programme. This subtlety in name is silent evidence of the diverse perspectives present internally that left their mark during the different stages of Ecobarrios.

This also reveals Isabel's concrete view of what she was aiming at through the implementation of the programme (maybe a little different from Ana's and Carlos' idea, as

section 3.3.2 will show). Her view was influenced by a participative, progressive and democratic discourse as well as NPM's ideas while Ana and Carlos view was influenced by a holistic, spiritual and ecological perspective.

She did not delve much into the ecological dimension. According to her what mattered was for people to understand that having a good neighbourhood was not just to have cement; the idea was for people to become aware and learn to live in peace with nature in a sustainable manner, respecting and taking care of it (discursive object). Therefore, it could be said that it lay at an intermediate stage between an ecocentric and an anthropocentric discourse, where the environment was not a resource but as 'nature' (discursive category); however, seemingly, there was still some perception of it as something external to human beings.

Concerning the spiritual component, she affirmed that it was essential and mentioned that she supported its development because:

"...at induction sessions led by Mockus, he talked about the invisible city, which refers to agreements, norms, understandings and consensus between the people as opposed to the visible or material city. So, I thought that this would perfectly justify developing the spiritual dimension...because I thought Ecobarrios will create the invisible city through this dimension...it will allow people and the JACs to have power, access to resources, voice and eventually an intervention space..." (Isabel, pc, 19/06/12)

Isabel associated this dimension to construction of an 'inclusive neighbourhood' and an 'urban-community identity' (discursive categories), a holistic identity that would take into account local and traditional knowledge from peasants, indigenous and afro-descendant groups arriving in the city. Likewise, it was associated to development of empowered political subjects, with 'participation and entrepreneurship skills' (discursive strategies), who could live in community by cultivating values such as 'solidarity', 'communication', 'planning', 'respect', 'forgiveness', 'reconciliation' and 'awareness' (discursive categories). It also demonstrates a clear gender approach where women would play a greater political role, for example in JACs. This shows that she placed greater emphasis on construction of place-based political (and not eco) subjects and identities associated with the neighbourhood and the city.

In 2001, she decided to quit since she was offered another position and it appeared as if the DAACD was going to close. Clemencia Escallón replaced her; she is an architect with specialisation in urban design. She reported that she found a very complex institutional situation since they were planning to reduce and, later, transform the DAACD. Therefore, there was discomfort among the officials, which was expressed in seven trade unions. In the

same way, the officials implementing Ecobarrios were in their majority academics with little experience in the public sector. Additionally, when she arrived, she realised that they had intended to close OSP, programme to which she felt specially attached for its great contributions to citizenship construction and because she had been directly involved in its inception and implementation since 1995. All of this resulted in complications for developing Ecobarrios since she arrived.

She thought that the programme itself was too academic, above all cultural and barely associated with the productive sphere. She considered that it did not have as much of the ecological, and she did not agree with the spiritual dimension since it could bring about conflicts related to religious issues. Besides, the focus of the programme on the neighbourhood level was also problematic for her, as her experience on designing and working on UPZ for four years indicated that was the most important area scale. Therefore, she introduced several changes bearing in mind her general experience and with OSP: emphasis on 'citizenship construction' for productivity promotion and city progress (discursive object), and changing the spiritual dimension's name to human and use of zone scale (see annex 6). This also explains why there was a discursive change for the programme's second stage, leaving influences from spiritual ecology and the ecocentric approach aside, building on approaches such as NPM.

In order to complement this section, it is important to include perceptions from officials such as father Leonel Narváez, who as previously explained was associated with the conception of the spiritual dimension of Ecobarrios, and from Alina Choperera, an industrial engineer with MA in Finances and Information Systems from England, who was in charge of the social and economic dimension. Unfortunately, because of space restrictions, it is not possible; however, I have included transcripts of their interviews in annex 7 and 8 in order to leave the information available for future studies. Nevertheless, the above mentioned demonstrates how diverse interests, perceptions and discourses from the people behind the programmes, besides particular situations in each case, that is to say the unofficial history, definitely leave their imprint. This is even more evident considering the holistic and interdisciplinary character of a programme as this one. This will be further examined in the analysis of the life stories of the 'hearts and brains' behind this programme: Ana Maria Aristizabal and Carlos Rojas.

4.2 The unofficial history of Ecobarrios from the life stories of Ana Maria and Carlos

I begin one of the sections that most captured my attention during my investigation since it enabled me to understand another very important side of the non-official origin of the

programme and its (hybrid) discursive and practical foundations from the perspective of the human beings behind the officials (see photo 9). I developed their life stories throughout ten meetings, in each case, as open-ended interviews (with themes related to the genesis of Ecobarrios and their possible connections with personal experiences), which began in 2009 and were developed more intensely between May and July 2012, ending with other sporadic meetings between August and December 2012.

My experience with using life stories was very interesting since talking to someone in a more informal setting, as if visiting a friend, generated stronger links and therefore made it easier to establish trust and getting to know essential details about these people's lives than if done in other contexts. These details helped me to better understand this programme's full history and its diverse ecological and political approaches. However, the use of this methodological tool has its limitations because it is mainly grounded in memory, which implies that in some cases information will probably not be reliable (Rojo 1997; Jimeno 2006).

Photo 9. Ana Maria Aristizabal and Carlos Rojas
Source: Personal File Rojas 2001



As an anthropologist I intend to contribute to further the understanding of how urban development planning works, how life stories of people in charge of designing and implementing said plan influence its development. Therefore, I must raise awareness of the diverse lines of evidence and information gathered by their triangulation. I will only introduce some key contributions from the life stories in my ethnography – commentary, attaching transcriptions at the end (see annex 9 and 10).

Ana is credited as the creator of Ecobarrios. She is a biologist from Mount Holyoke College, MBA and Masters in Environmental Management from Yale University, currently certified holistic coach, consultant, and trained facilitator. Below is her account of how her personal experience and beliefs imprinted the design of Ecobarrios, the ecological and spiritual dimensions:

"...I did not get to know Colombian reality while I was at school. The image I had was very biased and influenced by news, so I thought that I did not want to get involved in a paradigm that would make me part of the problem and so much negativity, I did not want to be contaminated by that; to be able to create something different, I wanted to think differently and to see reality from another perspective..."

At 14, I received a bookmark that read woman for sustainable development and I asked my mum what sustainable development was; I don't remember what she answered but I do remember that I was very interested.

My loneliness probably led me to develop an endless curiosity, because I am an only child... I looked for ways to fill my gaps in several fields of interest, from sciences to arts, from spirituality to corporality.

In my teenage years, I read "7 Habits of Highly Efficient People", and I learnt the concept of a paradigm. That is why, when a great mentor, Rodrigo Escobar Navia, referred to a paradigm shift in 1995 to describe forthcoming changes, I paid attention...He told me that we were going to move from an industrial, mechanistic paradigm, where everything is a resource and a means to an end, to a biological - organic paradigm, where all social and productive systems would be designed on principles of life and caring for its intrinsic value. I felt summoned to participate as an agent of change towards this paradigm, to understand Colombia from the positive....

...as things turned out, I ended up at a college for women only, Mount Holyoke College, where I studied environmental studies and ecological thinking was conceived as a philosophy. I did not imagine, but now understand, that living the community spirit in this college made me bloom. Here, I discovered the power of a community at first hand, of friendship, besides experiencing a spiritual and femininity awakening process that transformed my life forever. So, I started to develop something like a community identity, building community, which would later on influence my relationship with Ecovillages and Ecobarrios, which are ultimately a proposal for community life.

I met Steven Hall, an architect, a very spiritual and interesting person, who introduced me to ecovillages. My direct experience was with Sirius Community... this visit triggered something deep inside me, it touched all aspects of my being... one of the things that impressed me from ecovillages was their management of spirituality, and their application here and now, in our daily life; I fell in love with that, it inspired me, filled my being.

"Gaviotas: A Village to Reinvent the World" by Alan Weisman was published around that time. He came to launch it at a university nearby. Connecting the dots, I wished for that concept of ecovillage to become widespread in Colombia and the world as catalyser for a paradigm change and as solution to a system with little solidarity and filled with inner unease that I did not perceive to be only mine.

It was there that I got to know the Urban Ecovillage from Los Angeles, led by Lois Arkin, which still exists today, and I connected with it because I came from a city and was also

learning that most of the world's population lives in cities; we had to create a solution for these. I undertook a case study about it, which led to my dissertation, entitled "Challenges and opportunities for an Urban Ecovillage in Bogotá, Colombia". The idea was then to think of an urban ecovillage in a third world country in a city like Bogotá which would inspire many as it had happened to me.

The dissertation was supervised by Rutherford Platt from the University of Massachusetts, who led the "Ecological Cities Project"...and by Tom Millet, who was an environmental planner... By then, I had already experienced influence from currents such as spiritual ecology, but I was able to explore that and other approaches such as deep democracy, and systemic thinking and integral theory during and after Ecobarrios. Also, during the experience at happy village, the ecovillage we created with Carlos and other people, to which I still belong today. The ecovillage emerged as a result of our frustration from our experience as government officials and understanding that to contribute to that change of paradigm we had to integrate it to our lives, our everyday, with people who would approach out of interest or genuine curiosity.

In my dissertation, Ecobarrios were defined as a holistic development model at neighbourhood level that with others would begin to form a true ecological city. Ecobarrios represented an alternative for socio-economic and eco-spiritual development of cities, based on the neighbourhood scale that facilitated construction of community social weaving leading to collective creation. With regard to the name, it was an adaptation I made of the urban ecovillage because at that time I did not find anything that was an econeighbourhood or something similar, which is why I called it Ecobarrio to abbreviate.

Then, my mum took the direction of DAACD and decided to implement Ecobarrios... due to nepotism issues, I could not directly work with the programme ...but I was indirectly involved and I put my heart into it...

It is important to clarify that Ecobarrios went beyond ecological cities' discourse which stopped at the environmental. Ecobarrios was based on an idea of holistic sustainable development, which took into account several dimensions and where the spiritual played a key role. The idea was then to take this from neighbourhood to neighbourhood so that it could later be transferred to the city level, which is why the neighbourhood scale was crucial. This implied a whole philosophy of how to inhabit and build a place, even more so in this case from a systemic - organic approach where nature is not conceived as something external and foreign to us."

Regarding her perspective about place-based eco-political subjects and identities:

"Ecobarrios was a participative proposal where nothing was imposed and it aimed at inviting people to consider the option to change, voluntarily co-create a new reality and generate cohesion at a social level, so that they could plan their own neighbourhood's development as a community.

...we were clear about our goal to foster neighbourhood leaders who were politically active and empower them so that they would pull the individual and collective process, from a bottom-up approach. The methodology aimed at inspiring them and inviting them to be acquainted with a new philosophy of life where the ecological and spiritual was what mattered, invite them to think creatively, to propose, to feel co-creators of their surroundings, to break that assisting and dualist mentality. Its goal was to show them that development must be holistic for it to be sustainable.

The idea was also to invite them to develop an identity with ecological conscience, a form of spiritual life based on respect, love, solidarity and not only among humans but also with other living beings. We knew that activating these processes would take a long time because to generate a change of mentality you need a process that will remain in time. It requires a process where there exists respect for local, traditional, cultural knowledges.

...all these ideas of Ecovillages and Ecobarrios was a spark in my soul to tell me you need this; one faces what one needs in one's path at the right time...and, well, I'm committed to the Ecovillage because it is there for a reason and it will be in my life forever because I gave my word to that life project." (Ana Maria, pc, 05/05/09; 17/08/09; 19/11/09; 16/05/12; 18/06/12; 13/08/12; 13/09/12; 14/12/12; 07/01/13; 10/01/13)

On the other hand, we have Carlos Rojas, an architect with an MA in community planning, founder representative of Ecovillage Aldea Feliz (happy village), director in charge of Ecobarrios implementation and who was also involved in its conceptualisation next to Ana. Carlos' story is as impressive as Ana's since they are both great human beings with a very particular way of thinking. Therefore, I considered it was important to explore and de-construct their life stories to get closer to all that is not written and is so important to understand why institutional programmes such as this emerge with a discursive basis and a particular project of subjects and subjectivities. Regarding his perspective about the genesis of the programme and the ecological and spiritual dimension I found the following:

"I was always connected to nature, from an early age...when I went to school, I was a shy child ...between the ages of 11 and 15, I wrote that I felt that my school buildings were cold and dead while when I went to the countryside and built a little hut with branches, I felt like it was made of myself ... at that time I was also taught Jesus' values ...I was told that he had not obeyed the status quo of his time ...but he obeyed a deeper law of love ...and I thought that was fantastic...I wanted to be like that, but when I started to question, I was expelled from school, they thought that I was too rebellious and I felt very sad... that moment was very important to me because I understood that not agreeing with an incoherent institution is exactly what you must do...

I studied architecture and important things happened to me...I could study technologies with soil... building with guadua in Quindio and I went to Choco, to the jungle where there was an afro community and I was able to help them to build houses and what they needed, and it was paradise for me... on the plane arriving back in Bogotá my thought was that I had left Bogotá as an urban explorer and was returning a child of the jungle who came to explore the urban world...

...in my dissertation I tried to question the relationship between man and nature from the spiritual. But my supervisor said it was not an architecture dissertation; the university never understood my concept of living architecture, one that grows with the community ...Then, I decided to do my dissertation on mobility and my assigned supervisor was Mauricio Ardila from Tadeo University. I obtained a (top grade of) five and ended up studying a master's course with him and dedicating two years to urban design. It was interesting; I had an esoteric group of teachers and their approach was based on systemic thinking. Thus, I ended up studying community planning as MA in Cincinnati.

The master's course was marvellous. I learnt to have a gender perspective; to take into account different ways of looking at reality. Besides, something marvellous happened...in

the library, I found a section for books on environmental philosophy, ecofeminism, bioregionalism, deep and spiritual ecology, green romanticism, environmental discourses analysis, socialism, capitalism and ecology, which I thought were paramount because I considered that was where humanity's great dilemma rested...The first book I found was "Gaviotas"...and I devoured it ...

At university, I had learnt that humanity had two essential questions and I was interested in exploring them: how do we acquire knowledge? And, what is the relationship between human beings and nature? How is that relationship defined as species survival ...Then, I wrote a dissertation that would allow me to devour those books and I related it to Bogotá.

As I read, I realised how the human being has 3 ways of looking at nature: as resource for democracy, peoples and human well-being discourses; as object for science and capitalism; and as spirit for old traditions and discourses such as bioregionalism and green romanticism...when I see discourses of nature as spirit...it is fantastic!...it is very enriching because it implies a different relationship between my being and that river ...when you understand that there is a spiritual reality, you are enabled to understand that you are not entirely responsible for everything that happens to you.

I did not meet spirituality due to enlightenment or because I had an epiphany, but because I understand it from my rationality and my intuition...

After my master's dissertation, a friend introduced me to Ana; she introduced me to Isabel who told me about Ecobarrios and I applied for a job. I put my heart into that project, super happy, besides getting along with Ana, but today I may have done it differently without hurting egos, but at that moment I was inexperienced and I wanted to change the world.

The Ecobarrios programme's discourse is inspired in the world network of ecovillages... an ecobarrio would be defined as an urban community at a small scale in which relationships of human beings with nature, humans with each other and with themselves are based on caring, deepening and harmony.

...ancestors and people from the East have taught us that there is a very important spiritual dimension, that all living beings have a spirit ... modernity, capitalism, neoliberalism arrived and said it was witchcraft; it all depends on the ego and humanity disconnected from nature and their spiritual dimension.

The spiritual dimension was associated with the world vision...it implied working on the transcendental, deep meaning, humans' inner force/being, the invisible collective glue that can get people together and on the relationships between living beings...which are ideas from deep and spiritual ecology. The idea is to be more aware; awareness refers to how I can perceive my light and shadow, my spirit and ego, my gifts and limitations at the present moment, see them, embrace them and work with them...That is the key to learning how to transform hatred, anger, wrath into love, compassion, forgiveness...

The neighbourhood scale suggested work with return for the immediate community, for the tribe and the universe of possibilities of urban life forms that may recover the wide family sense which cares for their territory and connects emotionally around a living space on which it exerts true appropriation.

...the programme's original idea was disjointed from schools of thought influenced by modern and industrial neoliberal and market paradigms. It connected with the discourse of reading the territory as an emotionally significant place, with the philosophy of the systemic, the organic, with native cultures, with diversity.

...applying all this in an institutional logic was very difficult because there were few people who understood it ...besides the issue of Isabel's resignation, Clemencia's arrival, who was very connected to OSP...but at the end at least we wanted or had the idea that as government we should not impose anything but facilitate what people needed, creating the necessities. An issue was that for example Mockus is an excellent academic but he was educated in the western rationality...with neoliberal influences... distanced from these issues, just like several officials with whom I had to work at that time ...

Regarding his perspective about place-based eco-political subjects and identities:

The idea with Ecobarrios was to move away from what Bernardo Toro has called "the success paradigm" from neoliberalism...where only personal success is sought, without withstanding failure...we aimed at moving towards the "care paradigm" which implies a more spiritual vision of life where we worry about our own well-being but also about other living beings' well-being...with Ecobarrios we sought to create personal and community awareness...an identity of species with an ecological-spiritual conscience and empower people regardless of social strata... At the JACs level, we wanted them to focus not only on infrastructure works ...

Ecobarrios was a programme for re-signification of the individual, of freedom of the individual self and the community in which a space for exerting the right to trust, cooperation, participation, closeness, familiarity, ritualisation and connection with the territory and with all living beings; it is also an opportunity to re-interpret the spiritual or transcendental essence of places and re-establish a ritual relationship with the territory.

Ecobarrios suggested to community leaders to become agents of a new development, implying a change of paradigm, a community development based on the connection with spirituality and harmony with nature...

After Ecobarrios, Ana and I delved into the experience of the ecovillage... which had allowed us to realise that there are no set formulae for sustainability or Ecobarrios, what matters is the shift of awareness and keeping in mind the specificities of the context" (Carlos, pc, 11/04/09; 10/10/09; 02/06/12; 28/06/12; 15/07/12; 29/08/12; 29/09/12; 16/10/12; 23/11/12; 03/01/13)

In this way the first phase of this discursive journey of Ecobarrios as a programme connected with the institutional and local scales concluded. This phase is very interesting since, besides allowing me to re-construct and interpret discursive influences of the official story from analysis of written sources, it has allowed me to de-construct and explain the importance of its intimate story. Thanks to the ethnographic interviews and life stories I gathered essential information to analyse continuities and discontinuities between the public and intimate narratives. Thus, I was able to understand from discursive objects, categories and strategies used by these people that the programme emerged as a proposal by Ana and Carlos, which genuinely sought to contribute a change of paradigm (discursive object) as they were experiencing it. This was due among other things to clear influence from spiritual and deep ecology, deep democracy, systematic thinking, integral theory, ecofeminism, bioregionalism and community planning perspectives in their academic, professional and personal lives. According to Ana and Carlos, this paradigm shift intended

to offer people the option to de-construct and awaken their consciousness (at being and species levels) to relational ontologies – in transition (such as the good living – connection with spirit – nature – living beings – place) different from the modern/capitalist/individualistic/rational- disconnected. Thus, construction of individual and collective ecological and political identities, associated to places and characterised by encouragement of an ecological awareness and political action was promoted. In this scenario, love (as a discursive category) would become a force of action and it would promote a spiritual, respectful lifestyle in harmony with nature and other beings (discursive object), fostering a species identity (discursive category). All this was undertaken from a true participative and community perspective that sought to empower people to develop their own alternatives for holistic sustainable development from their pluriverses. Alternatives discursive strategies such as eco-villages, Ecobarrios and ecological cities would be built with the territory, its places, traditions and local knowledge.

Nonetheless, when inserting the proposal into institutional and planning dynamics of the time, it collided with those and perspectives, perceptions, representations and different interests of the people behind them. Therefore, it ended up becoming a hybrid programme at a discursive level, from which certain therapeutic technologies of the self were implemented as part of an eco-governmentality, which promoted transformation of mentality and behaviours instead of a change of awareness as part of a paradigm shift. It aimed at fostering construction of a certain specific type of (individual and collective) place-based eco-political subjects and subjectivities, even depending on the programme's stage. Meanings of the ecological, spiritual, political and even the place and beings/subjects varied according to the people perspectives behind the programme. It is worth highlighting that the above is just one of the many interpretations that may be generated from a post –structural perspective.

In terms of urban environmental politics and governance, this chapter explores the understanding of the role of the people behind government officials. How their interests, points of view and life stories influence the movements and transformations of trajectories, such as the institutional ones within the planning of the cities. It also shows how the evolution of urban environmental politics and governance has been subject to various urban natures. This refers to the different conceptions that these government officials have on the nature, the resources or the environment (depending on the discursive category that they used), which considers it as an actor that must be taken into account in urban planning. This has brought with it the development of different initiatives, or even programmes such as

Ecobarrios, which began with a vision of nature as nature and a living being and ended with a more predominant thought of nature as environment.

The same happens with the spiritual dimension which, when included as part of this programme that implied a certain exercise of urban environmental planning at a neighbourhood level, was also defined from different perspectives. Those approaches to the spiritual varied according to what each of these government officials understand by spirituality. Although the original idea of the programme did not associate spirituality with religion, the great majority of the government officials did. For that reason people like Dr. Mockus did not agree with its application. However, it was finally allowed to be included, due to the holistic approach that this dimension gave to the programme, which was quite innovative in terms of planning in Bogotá. Likewise, the diversity of approaches to spirituality made that during the second stage of the programme, the new director would transform it, taking into account the capacity approach, calling it the human dimension. This made that the definition of what was understood by subjects, subjectivities and eco-political identities, from the institutionally will vary throughout the programme.

The later shows one of the aspects that characterises the complexity of multi-scalar analysis, associated with the importance of taking into account not only the institutional programmes, but the people who design and implement them. Considering unofficial history, the life history of some of the officials associated with the Ecobarrios programme and their action capacity as individuals, appropriating discourses such as environmentalisms according to their beliefs, life experiences and political interests. This opens another window that provides new information that gives meaning to the official story. In addition, it accounts for how the relationship between different scales is more complex than what is believed, since people like government officials, are part and are crossed by all of them. Therefore, we must work on this to achieve a more detailed and comprehensive analyses that allows through the use of different lines of evidence, to account for and understand such interconnection between scales and people in their true complexity. Also to understand how environmentalisms have been appropriated by different actors in the city, such as government officials, defining new urban natures that are building the political dynamics of urban environmental politics and governance.

Thus, I will make way for the next chapter where I will continue to explore and analyse what happened to all that was said (discourse) and how much of it was carried out by the people at the level of everyday life in the case of Lombardía neighbourhood.

Chapter 5. Tracking the Institutional Project of Eco-political Subjects through Lombardía case

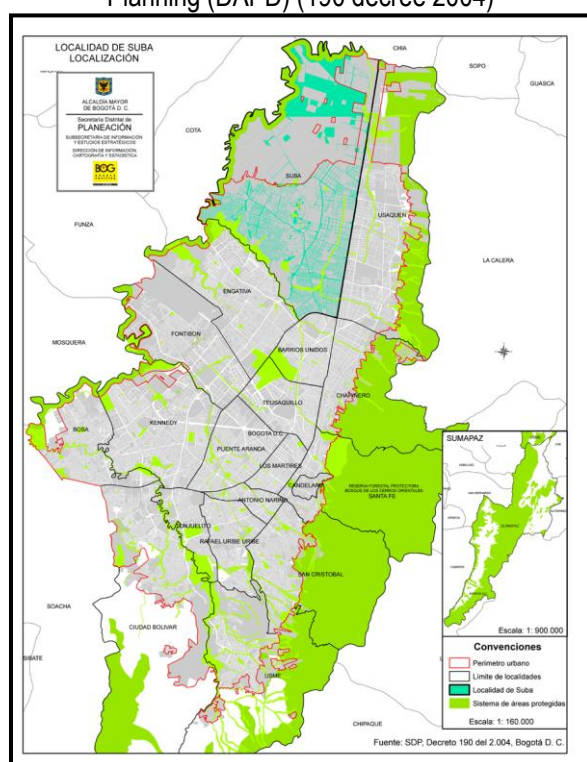
After the analysis of what Ecobarrios 'said' regarding the construction of certain types of place-based eco-political subjects from the conceived space, now I want to explore what happened with these 'words' (discourses) in daily life. Did the residents of a neighbourhood as Lombardía, to the north west of the city, appropriate these institutional narratives – discursive practices? Did they become ecological, political, spiritual, conscious, civilised, active, self-regulated subjects? Did they develop urban, neighbourhood, species identities?

In this chapter I aim 'to dig and explore' the connections and disconnections between the macro micro – local levels applying not just a discursive analysis but also a spatial approach. I will do this taking into account the ethnographic interviews, life stories of some residents, information from my field diaries and from a map sketch exercise that I completed with some of Lombardía inhabitants. The chapter introduces the case study and then offers a historical contextualisation where I reconstruct the history of the neighbourhood in order to characterise the space and place (the neighbourhood in the city) and the actors (the people that live there).

5.1. Lombardía as a case study

As a second methodological phase in understanding this process of building eco-political subjects from the institutional path, I carried out a case study based on one of the neighbourhoods that was part of the programme: Lombardía, located in Suba locality (no.11) in Bogotá (see figure 6)

Figure 6. Map of Bogotá - Suba locality taken from Administration Department of District Planning (DAPD) (190 decree 2004)



As mentioned, at the beginning of this thesis, due to my experience during my preliminary fieldwork in 2009⁹⁵, I was planning to do a scoping study in order to understand the spatial distribution of the neighbourhoods involved in the programme within the urban area (through mapping) and why some of them continue to function as Ecobarrios while others have abandoned the programme initiatives. Also, the goal was to find a case in which Ecobarrios appear to have induced and facilitated the maturation of a ‘critical mass’ in interventions towards a sustainable way of living and construction of spaces and subjects in harmony with nature and their community.

However, when I returned to Bogotá in 2012 I realised that most of the community leaders of these neighbourhoods had moved or changed their phone numbers. Therefore, taking into account that as part of my preliminary fieldwork Carlos and Ana gave me the ranking of the ‘most and least successful’ Ecobarrios experiences (according to official reports and their own experience), I started to work with Lombardía (the top of the ‘most successful’ list) as one of my case studies. Also, I chose this neighbourhood because, thanks to the work conducted with the institutions and community in 2012, I realised that Lombardía is one of

⁹⁵ As I said in the introduction I started “my fieldwork” from the moment I decided to do a PhD (2009). Hence I spent about a year inquiring about my topic, talking with people linked to it and going to the neighbourhoods. This phase is what I call here “preliminary field work”. I could not have another one during the PhD due to lack of funds. Therefore, I decided to have an extensive field work phase of almost 11 months because I knew that I could not return.

the most participative neighbourhoods in the city, as exemplified by its strong JAC and the work of active community leaders such as Fanny Piña, who has been working with different municipal programmes focused on sustainable and ecological alternatives. Furthermore, during my fieldwork I found that at IDPAC archives had information of Ecobarrios programme only for Lombardía because documents for other neighbourhoods had been lost somewhere in their files.

Once the case was selected, I completed intensive **ethnographic work** between June and September of 2012 with sporadic visits between October 2012 and January 2013. Observation and participation in daily life brought to light those things that people say they do and those they actually do (discursive categories and practices) and of which they are usually not aware or are only revealed through informal conversations and daily life sharing.

Hence, I completed a **historical contextualisation** of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants by revising primary and secondary sources at the IDPAC, local mayor's office's (locality of Suba), Lombardía JAC's archives and through multiple encounters with members of the community to understand how and when the neighbourhood had been built, how it had evolved and who had populated and transformed it. Through this journey, I identified interesting sources, such as maps, photos, and physical, demographic, cultural, patrimonial and socio-economic diagnosis for the locality and neighbourhood, press releases, neighbourhood development strategic plans, locality projects, agreements and reports on Ecobarrios progress, reports and booklets for Ecobarrios workshops (nutrition, community micro-enterprise, gender and family, urban agriculture, recycling, ESPERE, etc.) and JAC meeting minutes about Ecobarrios (see annexe 11)

Aiming to complement this information, I implemented a **sketch map** as part of the participative methodologies. I developed an exercise to which I invited all the people that I had interviewed, including some of their children who would paint their neighbourhood as they wanted on a piece of paper. In fact, 10 people accepted my invitation: 5 working housewives (among them an elderly), 4 working men (among them was the JAC president) and one child (son of one of the gentlemen taking part). Other invitees could not attend due to work commitments.

In doing so, my intention was to include things they liked the most and those they did not like; places of interest; tension, conflict, leisure areas among others, which express meanings, perceptions and representations. This aimed at generating a conversation regarding the neighbourhood's history and Ecobarrios programme, bearing in mind their individual and collective experiences. This approach proved to be insightful, as the 10

participants appropriated the activity, forming two groups (by gender) where they drew sketches of what they wanted to paint so that they could later on draw a map outline together (photo 10).

Photo 10. Map sketch exercise Lombardía
Source: personal file Ome 2012



In the following section, I present the result of this process of historical reconstruction based on the information collated from multiple sources.

5.2 Lombardía: the history of a neighbourhood

Nowadays, Lombardía is a neighbourhood of socio-economic strata three⁹⁶ located to the northwest side of the city, part of the eleventh (11th) locality Suba, UPZ 28, El Rincon (see figure 6). Apparently, according to some historical sources such as the chronicles (such as those of the priest Eugenio Ayape), Suba is a muisca word that means quinoa. The muisca were an indigenous group that inhabited the Cundiboyacense plateau (where Bogotá is located) during pre-hispanic times until approximately the XVII century. Suba was part of the territories of the Zaque, one of the chiefs of the muisca, and was a really important land for them due to agriculture and water resources. After the Spaniards' arrival, Suba underwent a slow settlement process until the mid - XX century. During that period, the area was considered a small urban-colonial centre connected to Bogotá by bridleways. By the XVII century the holders of encomiendas⁹⁷ started to build farms (haciendas) in that territory that then passed to the Jesuits and were expropriated by Carlos III in the XVIII century and put

⁹⁶ Law 142 created Economic stratification in Colombia to facilitate application of differential rates for diverse users of domiciliary public utility services. It sought to grant subsidies to the poorest residents. The system is organised so that the people living in houses located in strata associated to high wealth levels pay higher utility and tax rates than those groups in the lower strata. Consequently, stratification has been implemented based on housing and urban or rural environment characteristics, which are considered to provide a demonstrable account of a socio-economic way of life. Socio-economic strata to classify housing/plots are 6: 1 – lower low, 2 - low, 3 – medium low, 4 - medium, 5 – higher medium, 6 – high. Strata 1, 2 and 3 correspond to those on lower income who receive subsidies, stratum 4 users pay the value determined by the provider company exactly, and strata 5 and 6 pay extra charges (contribution) as they are on higher income (Rosero 2004).

⁹⁷ Encomienda was a socio-economical institution of colonial America where a group of natives worked for an 'encomendero' in exchange for protection and evangelisation (Ocampo 1994).

up for public auction. Thus, individuals, who later distributed the land by inheritance or public sale, acquired the farms. Then, in 1850 Law 22 Article 4, the “Plan de desindigenización de la capital” was approved and indigenous ‘Wards’⁹⁸ were dissolved. This entailed the end for indigenous people in the area (Secretaría Distrital de Planeación 2011; González 2013).

On 16 November 1875, Suba lost its indigenous status and became a satellite municipality of Bogotá (decree 108 Sovereign State of Cundinamarca). At the time, peasants and landowners, who lived in haciendas, hamlets and farms, shared the rural territory. At the beginning of the XX century, one of the most prosperous hamlets was the Rincón (where the area known as Lombardía is located) and agriculture was its main economic activity.

Since 1940, families from Bogotá started to emigrate to Suba in search of a quieter place, which would allow them to be near nature and far from the capital’s noise. As part of the city’s urban growth in 1954, municipalities such as Suba, Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Usaquén and Engativá were attached to the Special District of Bogotá (decree no 3640); and had their respective local mayoral offices. In 1960, in the face of urban expansion, Suba ceded rural territories, previously used for agriculture and cattle raising, to dedicate them to housing construction, promoting accelerated and disorganised growth of estates (which generated the need for public services) and for agro-industrial uses, particularly for flower consumption. In the 1980s a new migration wave arises due to displacement phenomena among other things, but this time people came from other departments such as Boyacá, Santander and Tolima, which entailed social and cultural tensions but also implied that it would become one of the biggest localities of the city. This involved a process of change and/or co-existence of physical space and rural habits next to urban ones (Secretaría Distrital de Planeación 2011; González 2013).

Thus, according to the ethnographic interviews, the sketch map exercise and the Neighbourhood Development Plan 2009 -2012, Lombardía was populated, from around 1987, “by people who had savings to begin their constructions little by little in those green plots and that came from diverse places in Colombia mainly from the Cundiboyacense plateau due to displacement reasons” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2009:5). The residents mention that in those times they had to go and borrow water from a pond in a nearby pasture and also getting home was very difficult because it was very lonely and dark.

⁹⁸ The Ward is a socio-political institution implemented in America during the Colony, which is still kept in countries such as Colombia. It consists of a territory inhabited by an Amerindian community, which holds a collective and inalienable property title, with their own cultural tradition and ruled by a special autonomous statute (Pineda 2002).

“... at the beginning of the 90’s the streets were pure dirt, there were only pastures with cows and horses, this is why neighbours established a working committee and they devised a project to organise the streets...the Mayor’s Office contributed the cobblestone and we put our labour...the Suba Exito shop and Transmilenio portal were flower shops, the Cali Avenue was a by-path, the Solar estate was there... but above all that there were only haciendas as Lombardía around the Exito and Cali Avenue...”

*...many times what we did was to go with neighbours to **rastrojea** (glean) at the pastures, I mean, we went to those pastures where they used to grow corn and potatoes and we collected the leftovers in sacks and then when we got to the neighbourhood, we would share with all those who had collected...” (Angela, pc, Bogotá, 14/08/12)*

In 1993 the JAC was legally established by resolution no. 373, with Mrs. Rosa Rodríguez as president.

“From the beginnings of the neighbourhood, insecurity was terrible, there were robberies all over the neighbourhood, so in about 1996 we formed a civic committee and started to think about organising the neighbourhood.... we built the water canal of the main road... between 2001 and 2003 with doña Fanny, the police and the Suba local mayoral office we installed community alarms and we put a security front in place throughout the whole neighbourhood... however, nowadays insecurity has increased since the Transmilenio station and big supermarkets were built near the neighbourhood attracting more people and among them thieves who move around nearby areas... besides given the neighbourhood’s shape that is like a labyrinth all that leads to more burglaries, more thieves’ attention ...” (Teresa, pc, Bogotá, 14/08/12)

“Doña Fanny helped to fix our neighbourhood it was dirty, ugly before and with her help it became prettier... most of the people come from the countryside, I am from Choconta...the neighbourhood used to be stratum 2 and the municipality changed it to stratum 3...” (Angelina, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12)

“...At the beginning we were all homeowners, but with time many people who would rent started to arrive and that has been detrimental for the neighbourhood because they do not have the same sense of belonging, an identity with the neighbourhood, besides one does not know who they are.... that has deteriorated the sector and has affected its security and cleanliness for instance with the rubbish problem...” (Gloria, pc, Bogotá, 09/08/12)

According to a survey of 400 residents, conducted by the Bogotá Mayor in order to make a diagnosis of the area for the development plan of the neighbourhood, by 2008 these were the main problems of the neighbourhood: security, drug addiction, waste management, parking space, environment, public space and recycling. By 2009, there were approximately 6855 inhabitants distributed as follows: 452 nuclear households; 240 women; 162 single mothers (head of household); 425 children; 350 young people; 340 adults; 125 afro-descendants; 28 disabled; 23 LGBT; 28 indigenous. There were also 4 Christian religious worship centres, one catholic, a primary–secondary school, a primary school; 7 state-run (family welfare) kindergartens, 5 private kindergartens; 225 commercial establishments; one cultural practice foundation; a sports school, a civic committee for parking administration

and the JAC. That same year a survey of 100 residents was carried out: 74% were homeowners, 16% rented and 10% traders (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2009).

"In 15 years [from the 90's] the neighbourhood has advanced a lot... the arrival of the shopping centre, the Exito stores, Cali avenue was good i] reduced insecurity... however, when the municipality changed our status from UPZ 71 to 28 changed our land use and we went from small shops and residential use to high impact businesses and the taverns from Suba's centre came here...and that has generated a lot of noise, insecurity and even problems with under-age prostitution..."(Adriana, pc, Bogotá, 28/08/12)

During the mapping exercise the neighbourhood was divided by consensus by the participants into the following zones: a. high risk areas (such as "cuadra picha" – for bars) characterised by the presence of noise, pollution, insecurity, rubbish, drugs, under-age people in bars, drunkards, pimps, rats); b. green areas, mainly the park which is very important for everyone; c. industries not permitted (carpentries); d. Rubbish centres and e. the church (photo 11).

Photo 11. Map sketch exercise Lombardía
Source: personal file Ome 2012



In this regard, almost all the participants shared the following perceptions. The JAC president was the only one who could not contribute much because he had been living in rented accommodation in the neighbourhood for a short time so he did not have the same clarity with regard to the place's history. The others were homeowners, all close friends and

who had lived there from the neighbourhood's beginnings; they were very familiar with its history.

"High risk areas such as cuadra picha are exasperating, only bars, noise... there were even mice but there was a big fire and got all those animals out... the bar area is like a scary area and in general the roads were scary, they steal... sure even they can rob you at your doorstep and even in daylight... because the security problem has always existed, but it has increased even more, for the Transmilenio portal's, supermarkets' location... besides the neighbourhood's shape, it is like a labyrinth, all that leads to more places where they can steal, it gets the thieves' attention

Then, we have green areas and as we were telling you, the park which is very important to us... we are of the few neighbourhoods that have such a big park with football fields and basketball courts... we go to play with our children there, to connect with nature in the middle of so much concrete, to walk our pets, to have fun, to rest, to see our neighbours, we do cultural and sport activities, among other things...

Next, we have the church, which for many of us is also a very important place because again there are few neighbourhoods with one and there we go to meet with God to honour him, to respect him and ask him from time to time... we also find industries that are not permitted such as carpentries which are polluting and affecting our health with waste such as sawdust that affects our lungs and makes our neighbourhood and canal dirty...

And finally the rubbish tips or... you could say that almost every block has one, people throw construction waste and the rest... another tip is the canal, where people throw mattresses and besides mice there are mosquitoes, where homeless people arrive... the rubbish issue is serious and it has also existed since forever... we lack culture for people to educate themselves, including waste management that attracts vultures, flies, infections... and another issue is invasion of public space for example cars on pavements...

But despite all those problems we now live happily in our neighbourhood and we like it... our location is privileged, we have the Plaza Imperial shopping centre, the Suba Transmilenio station, Exito stores nearby and that helps us not to have to go to the city centre... besides the community is very close and we have rather few conflicts..." (photo 12)

Photo 12. Lombardía Neighbourhood Park, church and streets
Source: personal file Ome 2012





The above is only a brief sample of the neighbourhood's history according to some residents' accounts (mainly men and women) and secondary sources. However, the following is noteworthy: regarding the neighbourhood's social and cultural composition, most of them are peasants or from peasant families displaced from the Cundiboyacense plateau. The later made their relationship different, closer to nature and land related activities, such as urban agriculture. Unlike other neighbours who came from urban areas and who, although they were interested in 'nature or environment' and in keeping in touch with it, had

not experienced it daily, apart from occasional walks or short strolls, as they explained to me.

However, for the same reason, most interviewees (children, young, adults and elderly) agreed that the park and individual and collective orchards are an essential part of their daily lives since they are the only places where they can connect to nature and enjoy leisure activities. In the same way, many residents (mainly women) highlighted that given how important religion is for them, the church and prayer centres are not only places of worship, but also places for the neighbours to come together and strengthen solidarity and community ties. These perceptions and representations that men, women, elderly and young have of themselves, their places and activities will play a key role in the Ecobarrios programme implementation.

Regarding perception of problems in the neighbourhood, a key issue for the residents, they reiterated that similar issues have emerged since the beginnings of the neighbourhood. These have been dealt with strategies during Fanny Peña's JAC presidency, and increased when more tenants, with less sense of belonging according to home owners, have arrived and generated, for example, more waste and did not care about keeping it clean. Also, developments such as chain supermarkets, the Transmilenio station and their surroundings have encouraged delinquency in this area.

It is worth highlighting that the above perceptions and representations reveal a shared idea (mainly by adults) that 'homeowners' did have a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, taking care of it and its people and places while 'tenants' did not. I was able to interview mostly homeowners (mainly adults) who were involved in the Ecobarrios programme, and in other district programmes; contacting tenants proved difficult since they expressed no interest in participating or had been living in the neighbourhood for a short time and did not know its history or about Ecobarrios. Very few tenants, mainly adults, were willing to talk to me because they were interested in contributing and learning about their neighbourhood through my work. Likewise, not all homeowners talked to me for the same reasons as some tenants.

After briefly rebuilding and interpreting some parts of the neighbourhood's history from written sources and fragments from the stories of the ethnographic interviews, I'm going to develop two analytical sections on the diverse trajectories of the discourses and practices that took place due to Ecobarrios implementation at the collective and individual level.

5.3 Following Ecobarrios ‘traces’ through ethnographic encounters

The objective of this section is to follow the Ecobarrios discursive/verbal ‘tracks’ in practice as an initial and general approach to the presence of the programme in the neighbourhood using people’s narratives, daily activities and institutional documents in order to understand to what extent the discourse was lived in daily life; and whether the residents only talked about the discursive categories or really lived them, specifically influencing their processes of construction as place-based eco-political subjects and identities. Therefore, taking into account some of the projects and campaigns implemented and the long-term trajectory of the programme until today, I’m going to reconstruct a brief version of the Ecobarrios story in Lombardía (non-existent) from this perspective.⁹⁹

In order to conduct this exploration through a discursive practice analysis, I used information from institutional sources, participatory observation and ethnographic encounters such as interviews and informal collective meetings. In terms of *ethnography with the community* and the exercise of direct and participatory social observation, I faced security issues that unfortunately prevented me from staying for at least some days in the neighbourhood. In addition, residents were wary because they did not appreciate strangers enquiring about their private lives or coming into their houses, although they were very polite. Thus, it took more time to gain their trust (compared to my other case study – Triángulo neighbourhood), which according to them was “...because the people from those neighbourhoods in the South, where they are poorer, are more humble and open...people from the middle class, we’re more complicated”¹⁰⁰. This meant that I had to be flexible and re-propose methodological strategies for the field as extensive sessions in the neighbourhood that ran from very early until as late as security conditions would allow¹⁰¹. I also had to change the methodology of the interviews to be more like visits and informal conversations in order to enter into private/domestic spaces and activities, which in this case were difficult to access.

In this scenario it wasn’t very easy to coordinate *interviews and extended visits* (lasting several hours) with the residents that have been involved in Ecobarrios since 2001, and with others that have arrived to the neighbourhood since then and in some cases became involved in the projects developed by the programme. For these reasons, I had to be careful for them not to feel harassed to participate in my research, considering their work and family commitments. My work with Fanny helped me identify ‘key people’ for my research; for

⁹⁹ It is important to note that this is just an initial approximation that warrants further investigation in the future, possibly with the information collected in the field for this study.

¹⁰⁰ Recurring comment mentioned by the majority of those interviewed during the fieldwork in 2012.

¹⁰¹ Registering everything I observed in my eight field diaries – methodological and fundamental reflexive element in which I noted my in situ impressions, emotions and interpretations.

instance, some of the neighbourhood's first inhabitants, most of the people who collaborated with her in Ecobarrios and during her time as JAC president. In turn, people that I interviewed suggested names Fanny had not mentioned. I applied a semi-structured extended interview with twenty-one members of the community (see annex 12), taking into account the ethnographic observation matrix¹⁰² that I designed (see annex 13).

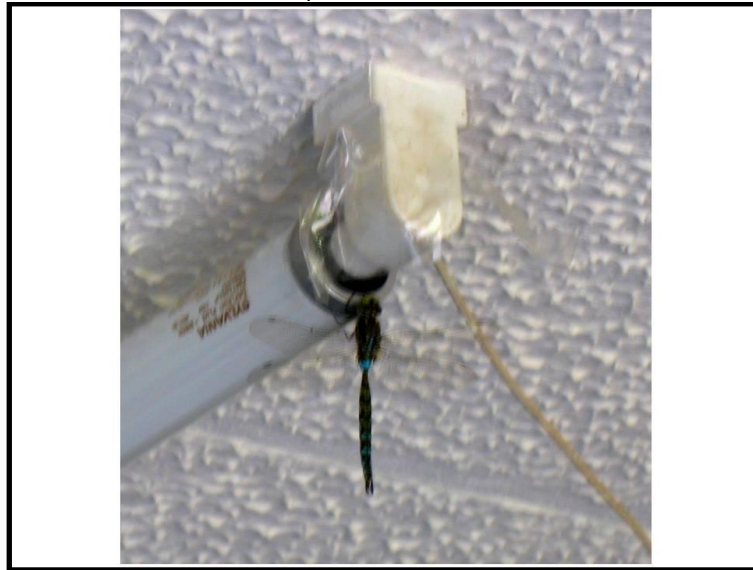
In addition, engaging in these spaces and spending time in the neighbourhood was interesting because allowed me to generate relationships that led to people showing me documents or how they implemented their 'ecological activities' in situ. People, mainly adults and young, began to send me information by email that included other texts or details of agreements that they were developing.

During the process, the support from my two research assistants was very important: Sergio Ramírez (April to October 2012) and Manuel Lozano (November 2012 to January 2013). This was not just due to the security issues in my two case studies, but also because they had the professions of anthropologist and archaeologist respectively. They were like having four eyes in the field with ethnographic lenses, which was fundamental for collecting information in a reflective manner in a scenario wherein was not possible to live in the research site. On certain occasions their presence allowed me to gain quicker access to research with women and children. All of these interesting challenges led me to consider new ways of thinking about ethnography in current urban contexts, resulting in my use of participatory methodologies such as *sketch maps*.

Regarding this exercise, which I referred to in the previous section, I would like to highlight that something 'magic' happened and triggered a really interesting talk about Ecobarrios. While we were in the middle of the activity a dragonfly appeared in the middle of the room. It is important to note that in Bogotá you don't often see dragonflies, and it was the first time I had ever seen one in the city. We were all immediately impressed because the dragonfly was the symbol of the programme and the participants told me "this is a sign for everyone, but especially for you" (Carlos, pc, 21/08/12) (photo 13).

¹⁰² This organised the open-ended guiding questions in accordance with the interests of the researcher, divided into key topics to facilitate the management of the information collected. I created only one matrix for the two cases but I did not apply all of the topics in both of them, where it is clear which questions were for Lombardía and which ones were for Triángulo. In addition, this was modified in accordance with the participatory observation that was conducted in the field.

Photo 13. Dragonfly – Ecobarrios symbol
Source: personal file Ome 2012



With this anecdote I will begin a description of the programme's history for this particular case. Ecobarrios was implemented in Lombardía in 2001 while Fanny Piña was the president of the JAC. In terms of the programme's definition, I encountered different versions; some people remembered because they had been part of it while others did not because they had not wanted to participate.

"In terms of the definition of Ecobarrios, I remember that it was associated with the need to implement a holistic development that included dimensions such as ecology, spirituality, physical-environmental, economic and social...the most important aspect was that the people and the community participated and appropriated the programme, beginning with our homes and neighbourhoods in order to later contribute to the city...the idea was very beautiful and many people liked it, it also helped in making neighbourhoods more beautiful..." (Olimpia, pc, Bogotá, 17/10/12)

"We remembered that the idea was to have an ecological neighbourhood, which is to say that people became aware of the importance of taking care of the environment for our future. This also involves showing love and respect for the neighbourhood...and although we were young, like between 8 and 14, we liked it a lot and we participated in many activities that even today mark our lives like the breakdance group...this is why we continue recycling today, not throwing trash on the streets of the neighbourhood and taking care of our park which is one of our favourite places..." (Daniel and Natalia, pc, Bogotá, 05/01/13)

People like German, Alejandro and others remembered going to meetings to talk about Ecobarrios but did not remember what the programme was about and some others told me that they did not remember anything about it.

So I realised that as for many people the programme's definition of an ecobarrio (as everyone called it – it was not a project) was never very clear. The initial conception associated with the paradigm shift (derived from discourses such as spiritual ecology), was

probably never understood, accepted, or correctly transmitted and also disappeared from discursive practice in its implementation. So for this reason its meaning ended up being relative and depended on each one of the actors, their interests and way of seeing and perceiving 'reality'. However, residents agreed that at the narrative level Ecobarrios was mostly associated with discursive objects, categories and strategies like the need to generate environmental awareness, and beautify homes, neighbourhoods and the city through participation, love and respect, changing personal and collective habits implementing practices such as recycling. This shows how in the collective imaginary, the programme was more associated with approaches like ecological modernisation that were applied in the second part of the programme.

Environmental discourses associated with the idea that nature is a resource to be protected, for instance, through transformation of our activities (recycling and water saving in Lombardía) to promote progress. This does not entail a change of paradigm or awareness of nature as another living being.

The inhabitants of Lombardía designed and implemented diverse projects (I will only list a few examples), including the following dimensions, appropriated in accordance with their particular needs. One of these was spiritual which kept the name of "spiritual" (not changed to the "human" dimension), which was mentioned by all of those interviewed (children, young, adults, elderly) as one that, even today, plays a crucial role at personal and collective levels.

"The spiritual dimension was one of the ones we most liked and this is why we have maintained it as we think that to be able to work in communities it is necessary to be united, integrated, have better communication and first and foremost we need to be at peace with ourselves and with God...this way we won't harm anyone and we can live in harmony and with spiritual peace..." (Lisinia, pc, Bogotá, 09/01/13)

"The spiritual area has always been and still is very important to us and it's what helps us set aside selfishness, envy and individualism in order to be better partners and work together as if we were one, mutually supporting each other, not just at the neighbourhood level but also with the family....all of this through our personal healing and respect for others, their belief and religions..." (German, pc, Bogotá, 20/08/12)

"What I most liked and still like is the spiritual part in connecting myself to God and going to Mass and being a better person, which is good not just for me but my family and neighbourhood...if we are good with God nothing bad can happen to us..." (Angelina, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12)

Based on ideas such as these a Catholic and a Christian prayer centres were created between 2001 and 2003, by participants in the Ecobarrios spiritual component with help from neighbours. Likewise, members of this component with other neighbours took part in

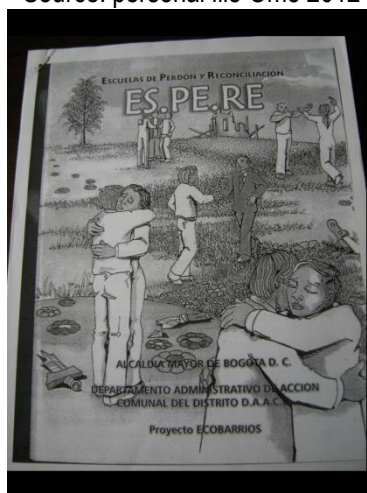
the ESPERE, the project with the most impact, mainly for adults, according to interviewees and what I could observe.

“ESPERE was a flagship project developed by Mockus, who has always had a philosophy of educating people...he was different from all of the other pacifist politicians, focused on dialogue, reconciliation, forgiveness...he began a process of educating people about citizenship and culture...due to being a JAC member I had to go to ESPERE meetings...I thought it was very spiritual and was suspicious, but I arrived and I found it to be very interesting, I liked it...It wasn't very religious like I thought but more psychological...all of the presenters were professional psychologists...they taught us how to forgive, get rid of bitterness, resentment, hatred and anger, everything people lock away in their heart....the course enriched me as a person, it strengthened my emotional side and this is why I did all of it...truthfully it helped me in my life and I could help other people in my neighbourhood with their conflicts...I became something of a peacemaker, giving people solutions and this has helped our unity and work as a community...but I had to first work on all of my personal issues during the classes in order to be able to explain them later to people...it was an experience that marked me significantly and even today I continue applying what I learned....the people from the neighbourhood responded very well to the courses that we later did here until Mockus' term ended and there was no longer neither institutional support nor monitoring of the programme.” (German, pc, Bogotá, 20/08/12)

“ESPERE changed my life, it was very beautiful and used for personal and group therapy, in order to be better human beings, to understand the importance of dialogue, to avoid problems, not just with the community but in my case with my husband in order to speak calmly to each other...it's too bad it wasn't continued...but in the long term it helped provide us with tools that supported community work, It isn't easy but at least it has helped....” (Teresa, pc, Bogotá, 14/08/12)

“...ESPERE focused on each one of us to help us be better people, this marked many like it did for me, and it really helped us...it helped me control my bad temper and learn to adapt to circumstances...but others did not care and did not pay attention to us and sometimes it was difficult to work like this...but this did not stop us and we continue working...very beautiful things were done, therapeutic things that helped all of us...even today we remember it and continue applying what the handbooks say about community work, which is always complicated...” (Olimpia, pc, Bogotá, 17/10/12) (Photo 14)

Photo 14. ESPERE Document
Source: personal file Ome 2012



In regard to my observations in the field, it was interesting to see that at the individual and group level, those that had been part of ESPERE had a more conciliatory, inclusive and 'therapeutic' way of addressing conflict or making decisions. For example, in the JAC meetings and group activities, as well as in day-to-day situations in their houses (the moments they allowed me to share with them), participants in the ESPERE programme generally aimed to maintain reflective dialogue as a negotiation strategy. This involved presenting their opinions respectfully to try to reach agreements and solutions. Obviously ethnographic monitoring of these types of discursive practices, which are often personal and introspective, isn't easy: may require more time than is available and will probably not be fully understood. However, triangulating information from diverse sources helped me identify the meaning of daily actions within a conceptual framework based on the implementation of the Ecobarrios programme.

I could see how the spiritual dimension, although it was appropriated by the residents, did not maintain its original meaning (not religious), in which ecology was also an important part; this seemed to be due to a lack of clarity and understanding of this element. Since not everybody is open to or even aware of these ideas about the need of a shift of paradigm to transform our way of seeing the world and how we live with other beings, this dimension was re-interpreted by people from Lombardía based on their religious beliefs (mostly Catholics and Christians – promoting respect for their diversity) and in terms of the impact that the ESPERE project had on their lives, both collectively and personally.

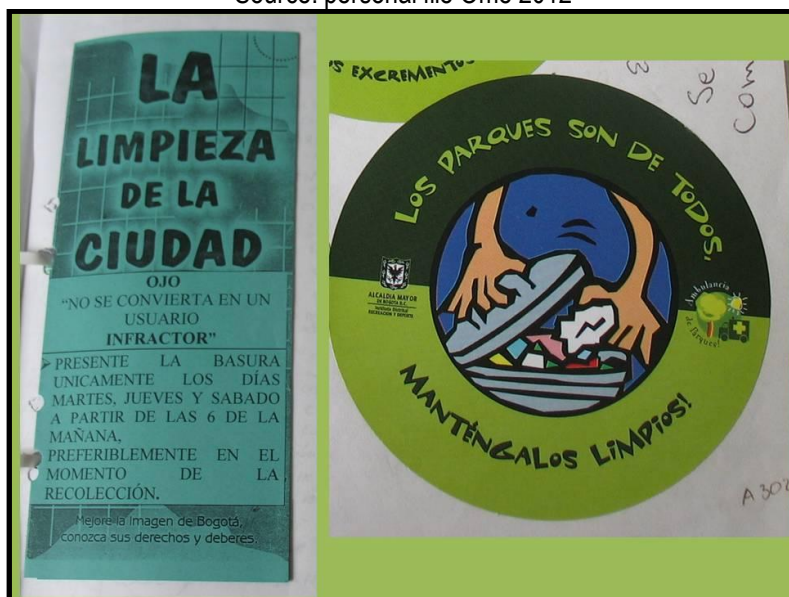
In this case, Ecobarrios ended up becoming a technology of government that influenced the psychologisation of everyday life through projects and discursive practices such as ESPERE, which ended up promoting the construction of certain types of 'spiritual' subjects through the implementation of technologies of the self (therapeutic discursive practices) that reflexively helped them to 'judge', 'examine', and 'reflect' about themselves (and also collectively). According to discursive objects, categories and strategies and what I observed in the field I can interpret that in this scenario spiritual beings are understood as people that respect the beliefs and lives of others, promoting values such as 'social harmony', 'civility', 'respect' and 'peace' through 'emotional control', 'forgiveness' and 'reconciliation'. These subjects have been actively constructing and transforming themselves personally and collectively within these rules on how to be and behave and according to them this has made reflective-therapeutic work possible. At the same time, this has helped their relationship with themselves, their family and community. According to interviewees, this experience helped them develop tools to live more peacefully by managing conflict in a different way.

Another dimension they managed was the ecological-physical-environmental dimension, which began through the implementation of activities focused on looking after 'nature' and from 2002 onwards, ideas such as the following were emphasised: "...with a view to improving the quality of life for our citizens, we have to aim for clean air, environmental protection, preservation of green zones, safe spaces and a clean neighbourhood..." (Piña 2002:3)

According to documents provided by neighbours and some found at the IDPAC and what I saw and discussed during my field work, some of the projects that are most remembered and have been maintained were the following: green leaders; revitalisation sessions and planting trees in the park – including the courts – (the favourite place of everyone interviewed), cleaning, managing waste and pets, cleaning of public spaces and paving parking spaces.

"These trash recollection sessions to clean and not pollute the neighbourhood and park helped us a lot! The neighbourhood became more beautiful!...And that's why we have tried to maintain them...however, people aren't aware of this and with new people arriving to the neighbourhood, many of those people renting, it hasn't been easy...I'm not even able to do this anymore, for example if I go out on a walk in nature I pick up the trash people throw in the streams or if I am on a trip I pick up trash and I bring it home..."(Martha, pc, Bogotá, 28/08/12) (photo 15)

Photo 15. Flyer and Sticker Cleaning and Waste disposal campaign
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Another project that has been maintained has focused on urban agriculture. During Ecobarrios there were communal orchards, but the city did not allow the community to continue with them so people kept the orchards in their homes, as well as engaging in the

practice of exchanging products, bartering, or 'barter' as it is commonly known. Most of those that participate in this activity (adults and elderly) do it, as they explained, because they come from rural areas, where 'barter' of food crops was and is very common; hence, for many of them this activity was part of daily life and they want to teach it to their children, relatives and neighbours since besides its contribution to their 'home economy' (as they call it), it also favours strengthening community links and solidarity. Even after Ecobarrios finished, training workshops were held on this issue for interested community members that wanted to learn about gardening, since not everybody had lived in the countryside, but were interested in these 'country' activities and had some basic knowledge they wanted to build upon.

"I was linked to the urban agriculture topic and I learned to compost, with SENA we created a community orchard and planted chard, cabbage, cherries, peppermint, chamomile, cucumbers, turnips and lettuce...from the neighbourhood, Angela, Flor, Angelina, Olimpia and other neighbours still have their gardens on their roofs and they use them to exchange what they grow amongst themselves and for their own consumption...this contributes to the promotion of values such as cooperation and community solidarity" (Adriana, pc, Bogotá 28/08/12)

"I have been involved with urban agriculture since Ecobarrios...planting carrots, tomatoes, onions, peas, parsley and chard.....I did it because I like it and because when I lived on a farm in Chocontá I planted crops then so I already knew how...here in the house we use it for our own consumption so my children help me as well...sometimes we exchange what we grow with our neighbours and this has helped to bring us together, to share and integrate more...I'm already old and due to my age I'm not working and this has helped me as a distraction, to relax and be happier as I'm in contact with the little bit of nature we have in the city..." (Angelina, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12)

"I have liked urban agriculture a lot because it is very sad to see how cities become disconnected from nature...each day we plant more cement, even this neighbourhood is constructed on top of zones that were used for planting for a very long time....so with cities all of these things are disappearing and this isn't good for humanity...a result of this is that my mother (Angelina) and I have looked for more information on our own and we have seen that for example in Japan they know a lot about this and in many communities around the world, in different neighbourhoods, people are coming together to do the same and exchange products from their gardens..."(Alejandro, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12) (photo 16)

Photo 16. Urban Agriculture – orchards at the terraces
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Another of the neighbourhood's flagship projects at that time was recycling, which has been transformed over the years. During the programme, campaigns such as "I recycle because we are destroying the environment" were implemented. In 2010 community members began to start workshops again as several people were interested in learning more about the topic, and since 2012 it has been part of the Neighbourhood Environmental Committee's activities.

"Recycling has worked very well since Ecobarrios began...so much so that since 2009 we are meeting on the last Friday of every month in the community meeting hall and people take their recyclable materials and we sell to a person that purchases them, before this person went from house to house to collect it...so the people have a type of forced saving and we pay them twice a year for what they recycle (June and December)...the financial incentive has obviously helped...however, we always insist on the importance of awareness and that this is important so we don't pollute and destroy our planet, the important thing is helping the community...nowadays recycling has become a daily activity for everyone, a habit...at my home we all recycle, in the kitchen I have bins to deposit everything and at the end of the month I sort it...for example in my case, if I'm somewhere else, I can't throw away garbage in mixed bins, I have developed a culture of recycling in which not everything is trash, things are recycled to reduce and recuperate...I have liked this issue so much that I was looking online and I saw how in Brazil they are reusing plastic bottles by filling them with trash and process and use them to make plastic sheets for building houses...and with my daughters it is incredible how I have taught them since they were little and today they and my husband are committed to recycling...." (Adriana, pc, Bogotá, 28/08/12) (Photo 17)

Photo 17. Recycling meeting
Source: personal file Ome 2012



"In the case of recycling something interesting has happened and it's that we have been working on it more with the female heads of households as most of them are the same age and are the ones that spend the most time at home, and we are responsible for teaching this to our children and sometimes delegate this task to involve them and help them appropriate and continue to replicate it....we also get the children involved through the Esteniano school that is next to our church where we have given workshops and continue to do so, and they also go on Fridays to our sessions...for example in many cases they have told us that it is due to the children that families recycle because they have taken the responsibility of leading this process...with the elderly it is more difficult as it is harder for them to learn or remember how to classify things...the interesting thing is that as time passes we have increased in number and new people always arrive that take up the activity....although not everything has been easy either, many people ask us why do we need to keep rubbish in our homes?...in my case I joined because I had been aware before of the importance of recycling to help the planet so I liked this idea and today I continue working so that the act of recycling doesn't disappear, because it seems to me to be important not just for me, the neighbourhood and the city but also for the planet...here I taught my entire family, but it was difficult..." (Martha, pc, Bogotá 28/08/12)

"The recycling programme was focused on learning to recycle at the source, which is the home, this undeniably changed our daily activities while cooking and eating because it made us aware that when we threw out rubbish and waste we had to classify it and in that way help the planet..." (Lisinia, pc, Bogotá, 09/01/13)

"The negative aspect of recycling is that while we do it here it is a shame that the city doesn't do it because the city doesn't promote it...there isn't a culture of recycling and the truth is that this is missing, not only for us but for the planet..." (Alejandro, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12)

"...In certain cases it has been difficult to get people to recycle because they have the mentality that people from Strata 1 (poor people) do that and the issue of their strata is very important to them...I do it because in my case it helps me reduce what I pay for trash collection..." (Anonymous, pc, Bogotá, 09/07/12)

This demonstrates how Ecobarrios influenced the construction of subjects with hybrid ecological identities that have been appropriated and transformed over the years in accordance with their interests and particular conditions (personal and collective/neighbourhood). I call them hybrid identities as subjectivities because as can be observed, people appropriated diverse ideas from the different approaches that the programme presented in its two moments and from another series of “expert and traditional-cultural knowledge about the topic” (Angelina, pc, 04/08/12). Even though there was increased appropriation of discourses from the second stage of the programme (NPM etc.), this was probably because the first stage was associated with perspectives that are different from those found in the matrix of modernity championed by the West in previous centuries, which is why it is not easy to assimilate these as well as the issue that participants did not agree with these perspectives. For some interviewees (male and female), many of the ideas about a paradigm shift were associated with new age objects that sounded like quackery to them because they did not understand very well and went against their religious beliefs. However, the idea of helping the planet and looking after their children’s future did encourage them to change their habits developing activities like recycling and water and electricity saving since this also helped them financially as it provided them with some income (recycling) or helped them reduce their utility bills.

On the other hand, there were people who although did not fully understand the background to the paradigm shift (from a deep spiritual ecological perspective), the idea that humanity had to change its ways did resonate with them. For that reason, they thought that we needed to do as indigenous people do and reconnect with and take care of the Earth, understanding that it is a living being and deserves respect; others said this made sense to them as they had always lived in the country, where the earth, animals and plants have their perfect cycles and that as long as humans respected it, the soil yielded good harvests. All the above ideas, concepts and discourses travel in various trajectories and they are never appropriated, re-signified or rejected as black boxes; assimilation, use or discard, combination with previously acquired discourses or rejection depends on the actors contexts or particular circumstances of every person. Therefore, they are in constant hybridisation and transformation processes.

In terms of the ecological aspect, from my discursive analysis of the discursive objects, categories and strategies and my ethnographic interpretation, I explored how people have identified themselves with this dimension and how they have redefined and adapted it to their contexts. On one hand, this has been associated with the need to develop an environmental rather than ecological awareness, given that even though it was initially more

focused on 'protecting nature' (discursive object), there was more emphasis on 'saving and conserving natural resources and the environment' (discursive object) later on through activities under the logic of looking after the planet (associated with a consciousness of species), beautifying, ordering and cleaning domestic and public spaces in the neighbourhood and the city (associated with ecological modernisation). For this reason a range of individual and collective 'ecological' activities and strategies have been developed such as those that were observed previously.

Through these activities the residents (children, young, adults and elderly) have transformed and redefined their behaviour and spaces, generating new habits (as discursive practices) and encouraging values such as 'solidarity', 'integration' and 'cooperation' (discursive categories), developing in some cases (generally for interviewees born in the city or those who have lived there from an early age) a dichotomous relationship with the environment: seeing it as something external, materialised in places such as the park, inhabitants' favourite site where "we can breathe pure air" (Gloria, pc, 24/08/12) . This relationship changes for some interviewees that were born in the countryside and lived there at least for a while because, according to them, they had a more direct connection with 'nature' in their daily life that highlights what Escobar (1999) calls 'hybrid natures' and their convergence, in this case, in the city. This was observed in their daily lives, especially in places like their orchards, where I could see that they applied knowledge acquired when living in the country: plot arranging, quantity of water and light required for crops, which they said "flowed naturally" to them. This was different for those born in the city, who despite their interest or experience did not "flow as much" (Orlando, pc, 15/08/12) and needed booklets on how to do urban agriculture and everything related to plant and crop care, besides seeking help from the neighbours who, in their own words, "did know about the topic" (Alejandro, pc, 17/07/12).

It is important to highlight that both at an individual as well as collective level children, teenagers, adults and elderly argued that homeowners had a greater sense of identification with this ecological awareness and actions than property tenants, who according to many have a lower sense of belonging in terms of the neighbourhood and the houses or apartments. In addition, this is strong among people that were born or have lived in rural areas (more men, women and some teenagers because according to the residents more of their children borned in the city) and have had a direct contact with nature as well as engaging in activities and developing knowledge about agriculture. Finally, people (men, women, teenagers, children and elderly) felt happy investing their time in these activities that helped them relax; they brought them together as a community and they reconnected

them with nature in this “concrete jungle” (Angela, pc, 06/09/12). This has motivated them to continue to do research in this area and implement similar actions such as water recycling and the purchase of ecological products (soap, etc.).

There were others (mainly men) that did things such as recycling for the economic benefits and others (men and women) that definitely did not do it because they associated this type of practices with people from strata 1 (the poorest socio-economic sector)¹⁰³. In this way, in terms of the residents, they have established a series of differences and similarities among those that have a “culture of recycling, coexistence and ecological awareness” (Martha, pc, 30/08/12) (ecological identity) and those that don't. This has been transmitted in schools and other places in the neighbourhood through ecological awareness raising campaigns that include actions such as recycling with the goal of ‘making children multipliers of this culture’.

Although this is the scenario residents want to discursively convey to locals and visitors, it is not so polarised in their daily life. I could identify that there are a lot of people (men homeowners in particular) who do not fully apply this culture of recycling, coexistence and ecological consciousness (ecological identity) as sometimes they forget to recycle, they have problems of coexistence with neighbours or do not fully understand what ecological awareness is and how to apply it. On the other hand, some tenants (mainly women) often take part in recycling activities or save water and electricity, considering these actions as part of an ecological awareness towards the planet. It is worth highlighting that in every case, women were in general more involved in these activities because most of them stay home with the children and are responsible for household chores, even those who work.

The social dimension – also called cultural by participants – was another area appropriated by the inhabitants in Lombardía. In this case, it is worth mentioning that according to them it is one of the dimensions that summons more homeowners, tenants and sometimes even neighbours from other neighbourhoods of all ages and genders, because it is something that makes their lives happier and helps them come together, do things they like and enjoy, like working for the community, and improve their health. As a result, a range of projects were implemented by the residents for the population with disabilities, children, young people, adults, single mothers and the elderly; as well as integration activities such as fairs, parties, festivals, sporting tournaments, dance groups, theatre, music, security campaigns to eradicate and control theft and the consumption of drugs among young people; workshops

¹⁰³ This is not strange in the case of Bogotá and Colombian cities where strata classification significantly impacts on people's identities (Wallace 2014).

for the training of community leaders, the strengthening of the JAC (not just at a neighbourhood level but also for the locality and the city), community participation and a focus on issues such as wellbeing, women and families.

“The social and cultural activities that we began with Ecobarrios, we have kept doing them until now, transforming them in accordance with the interests of the community, we created them with the goal of creating a sense of solidarity, coexistence and belonging...and we all believe that it has helped us a lot, above all for the owners, it's helped develop and strengthen an identity for the neighbourhood that I think is what we aimed at with Ecobarrios...there have been some moments when depending on the President of the JAC they stopped doing some things, but for example during the periods when Doña Fanny was President they always did really good things...” (Alejandro, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12).

“...I remember that the leadership workshops, to strengthen the JAC, and those for participation, helped us, not just the adults but the young people that were interested too, to understand how we could work at a locality and City Council level with the institutions and at the neighbourhood level with the community, encouraging values such as cooperation, unity, and others...” (Carlos, pc, 17/10/12).

Through this dimension the influence that the programme had in the construction of political subjects can be observed from the micro-physics of power. Not just through the training of community leaders and the strengthening and participation of the JAC, at a local and city level, but also of the crucial role of leaders such as Fanny and the empowerment of women (gender perspective), children, young people and the elderly and their roles at individual, family and community levels. This has involved the development of programmes such as ‘Leaders of the Block’ (created by the community) to strengthen working together as a community and to have greater control and oversight of their blocks in the neighbourhood. According to the community members, my discursive analysis and my interpretation of the observed, all of these actions have allowed participants to acquire values such as ‘solidarity’, ‘peaceful coexistence’ and ‘belonging’ (discursive categories), leading to the development and strengthening of a ‘community-neighbourhood identity’ (discursive object) that respects diversity (associated with the place). This also involves working on behalf of their neighbourhood, making joint decisions, and also working with the Local Council and the City Council to formulate projects and plans (e.g the development plan of the neighbourhood which will be discussed later in this section) and obtaining funds for their execution.

Naturally, the process has not remained constant, static or free from tensions. It has transformed, strengthened or weakened, at different times depending on how the community participate, how many people do get involved, how many of them stay or move, whether there exists conflict when prioritising activities and workshops given the wide variety of interests and considering time availability. Also, Fanny has not always been the

JAC president, as mentioned by them and observed by me, people participated more willingly during her periods since they shared more affinity with her and her work, and saw tangible results. In general, new JAC presidents have had to fight Fanny's ghost, as put by some, but for residents these are normal challenges of living together and working in communities faced by all neighbourhoods and localities.

New Individual and collective practices, trust and friendship bonds and forms of partnerships and collectives (strengthened by projects such as ESPERE) have derived from this process. These contributed to the construction of the participants of the programme (and of programmes influenced by Ecobarrios) as political subjects that have agency within frameworks such as 'citizenship and urban culture' (discursive categories). This culture is associated with the transformation of behaviours and the development of habits that are now ecological in places such as the home, the block and the neighbourhood, which have become spaces of negotiation, representation and dialogue.

It is worth noting that these processes have not emerged homogeneously and linearly for everyone: individual circumstances and interests, and understanding of the programme influenced its development (life stories presented in 5.4 will shed more light on these features). Besides, lack of involvement of some inhabitants in Ecobarrios projects generated some tensions which in turn slowed down tasks and activities. Nevertheless, active participants (with whom I shared more conversations and time at their homes) highlighted discursively the positive side of all activities derived from the programme over any tension present or lack of participation and how it could have affected the programme's development and scope.

In 2002 the economic dimension was included in significant projects implemented by Ecobarrios. These projects, developed taking into account the needs and opinions of the residents, have continued up until now, with some changes. According to the proposals of the residents these projects had been focused on developing micro-businesses for food, arts and crafts and recycled jewellery that may provide meet employment opportunities for internally displaced mothers, single mothers, young people and men. Training was provided and participants attended workshops on home economics and community enterprises. All of this had the purpose of:

"...encouraging productive sustainability through a productive and highly competitive community that connects the neighbourhood with the locality, the city and the country. This allows us to enter the market dynamic, generating more opportunities of employment,

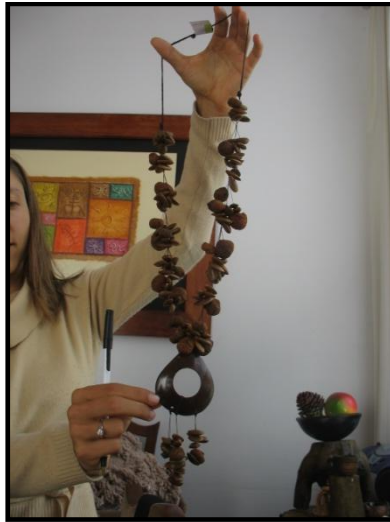
wealth and collective prosperity through joint actions between the public, private and community sectors.” (Piña 2003:2).

“Based on what we’re doing with recycling, with a group of women we started the micro-business project for arts and crafts made of recycled materials...we also made Christmas decorations for our own homes.” (Martha, pc, Bogotá, 28/08/12)

“The micro-business for building the house models out of recycled material really helped, not just by bringing us together but as another economic supports...in fact we still meet with each other and we have names for the different houses: the paisa, the house from Antioquia, etc., because there are different models and materials. We also produced necklaces, dolls and Christmas decorations...all of these products we have sold in fairs, here with the neighbours and to people we know. They also taught us how to restore furniture and other things...” (Lisinia, pc, Bogotá, 09/01/13) (Photo 18).

Photo 18. Houses and necklaces made from recycled material
Source: personal file Ome 2013





In this case it is observed a clear influence of the ideas from NPM based on neo-liberal and market-based approaches, in which the development of 'productive practices' that co-opt the sustainability discourse are promoted in order to generate small amounts of additional income and prosperity. This also promotes the construction of individual and collective subjects-citizens, who should develop their capacities and become micro-entrepreneurs in order to be 'productive and competitive' (discursive categories) without questioning, for instance, if people want this. This perspective creates tension with the initial philosophy of the programme but continues with the approach developed in its second stage, highlighting the hybridity that I have been discussing in regards to this process. As a result, some people joined these activities just to obtain an economic benefit, forgetting the 'ecological/environmental' objective of the process and a few abandoned the programme quickly because, as I observed in the field, obtaining profits from these initiatives is not easy.

Even though the programme officially ended in 2003, the projects derived from Ecobarrios have continued to the present. According to local residents, mainly teenagers and adults, this occurred thanks to the people and their affinity with the programme (collective and individual discourses and practices promoted), the excellent job of the JAC developing the programme according to the neighbourhood and people's needs and mainly Fanny, who teenagers, adults and elderly considered an excellent leader and president. Nevertheless, as they explained, this was not easy because between 2004 and 2008 Fanny had to resign to her position and the new presidents forgot about the programme, even though many people continued to carry out daily activities such as recycling and building the houses (with recycled material) as a group. Therefore, many stopped participating in JAC activities and projects because they did not agree with their interests and leaving aside the work

Ecobarrios had done. Then, in 2008 when Fanny came back as JAC president, she realised the neighbourhood's development had slowed down and, taking into account the successful experience with Ecobarrios, unofficially reactivated the programme. Although she could not use the same name, she kept the programme's philosophy and projects, and created new projects with the community, taking into account Ecobarrios dimensions and philosophy.

An excellent example of this was the neighbourhood development's Strategic Plan that was developed by the JAC and the community in 2009, building on knowledge acquired at Ecobarrios workshops and projects that they have developed since, fulfilling one of Ecobarrios main objectives: for the community to be able to devise their own neighbourhood development plan in the long term. Lombardía's plan discursively included the cultural dimension that absorbed the spiritual element of Ecobarrios to promote respect for the 'diverse ways of seeing and understanding the world'; the physical-environmental element, to encourage development of an 'environmental culture' through protection of the environment in order to have a 'clean' neighbourhood, and peaceful coexistence and active citizen critical and purposeful participation in public affairs in order to generate participatory awareness and achieve democratic governability.

Thereby, according to the majority of residents (teenagers, adults and elderly interviewed and observed) their discursive objects, categories and strategies, most of the programmes and activities developed since 2001 have focused on strengthening a 'culture of citizenship' generating a 'sense of belonging' with the neighbourhood and the city, and promoting social transformation in personal and collective spheres; for instance, encouraging better use of free time among teenagers to prevent 'inappropriate habits' such as drug addiction and delinquency. Thus, with the purpose to transform the neighbourhood in a 'liveable place', residents organised and participate in committees for 'sustainability', oversight, acquisitions, 'peaceful coexistence' and 'security' to guarantee ordered development for their 'wellbeing'. Residents interviewed highlighted that even though it was difficult at the end, all of these projects have helped them to integrate and work as a group with people from their block, the neighbourhood, locality and city. In addition, this helped them to develop awareness about the importance of caring for the 'environment and/or nature' (discursive categories).

"Obviously not everything was perfect because there are people who don't like working with the community and what they do sometimes is act as a bad influence on the people that do want to work with other people from the community...or also other people thought that the JAC or the President of the JAC should do everything...there is also the problem that Bogotá is a city of 'everybody and nobody', because many people come from other places and they don't identify with the city and they combine the problems of rural areas with the problems of the city...so it hasn't been easy, but for those of us interested we have tried to

keep going and work hard to keep all these projects alive that have done us a lot of good, not just for us but for the planet as well...we have always agreed that the role of Fanny has been fundamental, without her things would never have been like this" (Alejandro, pc, Bogotá, 08/07/12)

"Ecobarrios was such a beautiful programme! We were really sad when we found out that it finished...but this is what happens with the beautiful programmes that really contribute to the community, they stop or finish them due to political decisions and that hurts. That's why we tried to keep it going because it really helped us...it helped us in order to create, reinforce and live a sense of community, the importance of unity, friendships and a culture of citizenship." (Gloria, pc, Bogotá, 09/08/12)

As previously highlighted, this reconstruction of the neighbourhood's history and the programme's role in it used perceptions and representations collected from interviews and observations in the field. These men, women, old, and young, were in their majority homeowners or homeowners' relatives who have lived for over 10 years in the neighbourhood so they know its history and Ecobarrios as they were part of it. I interviewed only a few tenants (young, adults and elderly) because when asked they said they were not interested in taking part since they had lived in the neighbourhood only for a short while, or they did not know its history or Ecobarrios, or they simply did not have time. Furthermore, interviewing someone who had lived throughout the Ecobarrios time was not possible because most of them had moved and some had passed away. The few who still lived there expressed no willingness in collaborating with this research and on phone conversations they explained that as they had never been interested in the programme or community tasks, they did not know it.

Thus, for most of the residents interviewed and observed this construction of environmental political subjects, not ecological in this case, with a neighbourhood identity, was primarily associated with homeowners rather than tenants who, according to them, did not have a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and did not care as much for the community. It is noteworthy that for them said constructions of environmental political subjects worked better or was activated collectively if Fanny was there because it was through her work that they came together and managed to transform the neighbourhood from 'ugly and dirty' to 'prettier and cleaner'. Although some did have leadership skills (adults and young) and worked together to make processes successful during Fanny's presidency, they stated that they did not feel they had the same convening power, perseverance, management capacity and love for what they did as Fanny. Therefore, for them it was difficult to replace her and it was never the same with other JAC presidents. They commented that there was only one leader before Fanny who was similar to her and worked close to her, but unfortunately he died.

During my field study in 2012 and 2013, Fanny had left the neighbourhood and there was a new JAC president. Some of the people who had worked with her agreed to stay in the JAC continue working on the neighbourhood's collective tasks not to waste all those years of individual and collective work. Thus, they tried to share their achievements with the new president, who was interested in continuing those processes and in working with the community, because he realised that was the only way he could work with them being a tenant. For example, people like Karime who started to work with Fanny when she was a child, decided to get involved and become a JAC member to continue her work with the young as she had learned from Fanny and Ecobarrios love for her work and wanted to work for her community.

This makes evident that constructions of individual and collective environmental political subjects is relative and develops according to contexts and particular circumstances of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. In this case the perception of the collective does not include them all (from the homeowners' perspective) and its activation has transformed depending on certain leaders and appropriated by a group of people. It would be interesting to study what happened to those processes after my fieldwork; they must have continued to transform.

With regard to more specific aspects of this construction of environmental and political subjects, I consider it worthwhile to look at it from the gender perspective. Although the programme sought to empower all the actors (men, women, children, teenagers and senior citizens) both individually and collectively, to strengthen community work, it placed particular emphasis on empowering women in the home and the community as neighbourhood, locality and city leaders, as they put it themselves. During my interviews and fieldwork they shared that this encouraged them to dream and work on tasks they were passionate about but had not been able to pursue. Some of the younger women realised their dream to study because they felt motivated to learn from activities and workshops feeling empowered to participate in activities they were interested in.

Regarding gender, it is worth noting that men did not get involved as much as women because of work commitments and some perception of the programme as a pastime; there were some who saw it as very important part of their professional life and 'political role' in the neighbourhood, locality and city. These activities allowed for children and young people to connect with their neighbours, make new friends, do activities they enjoyed, and discover hidden talents, "putting vices such as drugs and alcohol aside" (Karime, 24/09/12). Also, some found a new interest in working with the community and some planned their life

projects taking Fanny and her work as an example since many expressed their admiration of her work. Thus, some young men and women followed studies in social work and became involved in the JAC's tasks, working with the locality and city. Finally, for the elderly who participated, it was a space where they "felt alive, loved, respected and useful again" (Rosa, 04/17/12) and were able to do things they liked and learn new ones.

Observations from my fieldwork, photos and documents corroborated that over the years women were the ones most involved in developing this type of activities at home and in community work "for their children's and neighbours' sake" (Emilia, pc, 27/06/12). Naturally, it has not been easy; sometimes they could not all get together to make recycled little houses, for example, due to their jobs and because others have moved away. Despite problems, even personal conflict between them, that hindered rhythm and consistency, they have tried to keep it, reactivating and encouraging new neighbours to participate. Some men are still reluctant to get involved claiming that their main concern is to provide for their families although many of their wives also work and share this responsibility. However, some men are interested in assuming a power role in the neighbourhood, like becoming JAC presidents or at least JAC members, for the status acquired rather than a genuine interest in helping their children or neighbours or generating an environmental awareness.

As for the young people, some, who have stayed away from drugs and alcohol issues, continue to work for their neighbourhood, led by women and some elderly who are still involved as they said these activities help them feel alive. Women stated that they felt more empowered at home where they can actually educate their children in what they learnt from Ecobarrios. Nevertheless, they also mentioned that even at home implementing Ecobarrios teachings it wasn't easy because their husbands were the ones who failed to recycle or save water or electricity as they forgot to or they did not think it was a big contribution to the planet; meanwhile, children, despite occasional forgetfulness or laziness, were more aware since they were taught about environmental issues at school and that made the process easier.

Although the above is only part of a first approach (which will be worthwhile exploring further), it reveals how relative these processes may be, not exempt from tensions, with varied trajectories and nuances that depend on the particular features of each person involved.

After this brief description and interpretation of the history of the implementation of the Ecobarrios programme in Lombardía and some of long-term plans and actions that have come from this, using diverse lines of evidence, I will now focus on the presentation of 2 life

histories. These will complement the ethnographic panorama and will contribute to establish my interpretations and conclusions about the construction process of place-based eco-political subjects in the case of Lombardía.

5.4 Talking to place-based eco-political Subjects? The stories of Fanny and Luz Karime

In the last section of this chapter I explore the institutional trajectory associated with the project of construction of place-based eco-political subjects in this neighbourhood through the life stories and ethnographic interviews of two inhabitants from Lombardía: Fanny – president of the JAC during Ecobarrios (2001 – 2004) and between 2008 and 2012; and Luz Karime, who was involved in different Ecobarrios projects and still plays an active role in the JAC and neighbourhood¹⁰⁴.

I chose Fanny's life story (photo 19) because according to the inhabitants (children, young, adults and elderly) she was a key actor in Ecobarrios and also for the neighbourhood and their lives; besides, as explained before, the JAC's presidents were fundamental for the programme's implementation and development. They played a crucial role as connectors between the municipal government (Mayor's office), local level (lower Mayor - by locality) and the community. Finally, it was really interesting for me and my project to know who was behind this leader whom everyone admires and that was responsible for keeping the essence of the programme alive until today (2013).

We had six meetings in the manner of extended visit days, where we not only talked but I was also able to be in her house and observe what she did and to keep her company while she ran JAC errands in the neighbourhood. Our meetings started in 2009 and occurred more often between June and September 2012. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of her life story was a little complicated because although she is really open when talking about her work, she does not like to talk about her personal life (she is very reserved). Therefore, although she told me a few things about her private life, she asked me to talk about that with one of her close friends Emilia. So I had to use this 'emergency strategy' in the field in order to rebuild at least some parts of Fanny's life story more related to her role as social worker and community leader.

¹⁰⁴ It is important to clarify that: 1) all the life stories are from women because it was easier to contact them (in terms of time and availability) and also they were more open to talk about their lives; 2) I did not have access to life stories that showed other paths opposite to eco-political subjects because all the people that I knew were part of the programme. The inhabitants, who disagreed with some aspects of the programme or were against Fanny, do not live there any more or passed away.

Photo 19. Fanny Piña
Source: Personal file Ome 2009



Fanny (55 years old and born in Dolores – Tolima) is a social worker who holds a post-graduate diploma in Conflict resolution from University of Externado and in Community management from Javeriana University. During her life, she undertook several courses and workshops, related to topics such as participation processes and strengthening of local and zonal (UPZ) planning. She was the Lombardía's JAC president between 2001 and 2004 and then between 2008 and 2012 because the residents (some of them part of the JAC) asked and elected her to in both cases. Before 2001 and between 2004 and 2008, she worked as a social worker with foundations and NGO's; for example, helping the children of sexual workers in different localities of Bogotá such as Ciudad Bolivar, SantaFe and Martires. In 2012 she decided to move and now she is living in Chia due to health reasons (municipality located 10 km north of Bogotá). Below are some excerpts of Fanny's life story that shows her role as a political subject in Lombardía and Bogotá:

"Doña Fanny is a social worker with a calling, community work is in her blood..." (Emilia, pc, Bogotá, 17/10/12)

"Working with the community and people is a process of insisting, persisting, resisting and never desisting... I love what I do...I feel like one becomes part of the street, so much pain and suffering, that's why I like helping ...A leader's role is very important ...the leader has to be behind the people otherwise people don't do things..."

I like to help people and even more so those with limited resources... that's why I decided to come to live in Lombardía because I have my house in 93rd street ...[a stratum 6 area in Bogotá]...but I wanted to help here and even more since they asked me... Emilia, who had worked with me, lived here and asked me... at the beginning it was very hard because I came from stratum 6 and people knew that, so they insulted me and told me to

leave....besides I was a woman and men were very sexist so they did not like a woman president... for me, the adaptation process was difficult at the start, the neighbourhood was dangerous, dirty, ugly, a landfill... that's why I decided to request police help and that's why I received death threats at some time... It was also hard because my daughter did not want to come to live here, she did not like the neighbourhood for its problems so she stayed in Rosales...[stratum 6 neighbourhood]...

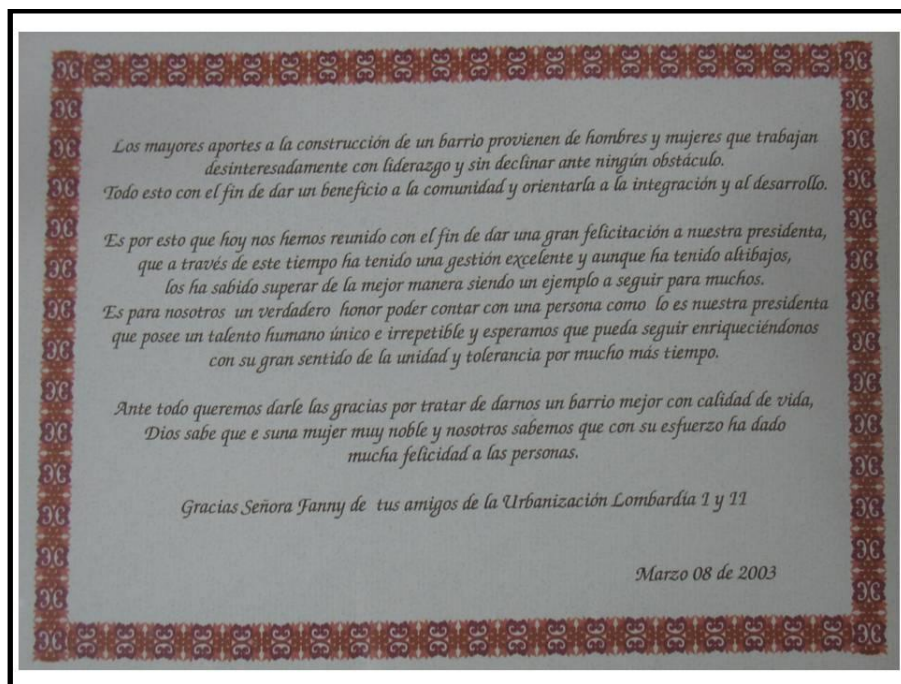
With time I decided that it was best to implement a collective leadership model instead of an individual one in order to get the community involved and generate stronger links with me, for them to get to know me and trust me...

Work in Lombardía hasn't been easy, even more so in the last few years when population has fluctuated and few of us are homeowners ...to tell the truth tenants have little sense of belonging... what killed us here was the change of land use, since 2006 business, bars and others were allowed; people got bored with the neighbourhood and population became very fluctuating ...” (Fanny, pc, Bogotá, 16/02/09; 07/06/12;23/07/12;02/08/12;27/09/12)

“In Lombardía it is difficult to work because stratum 3 is the most difficult for social work.... we think we are of a higher social stratum, so it is hard because people don't want to accommodate to norms and the rest.... that's why we say that she definitely loves what she does because only love, service to others and God move her to do these things ...”(Emilia, pc, Bogotá, 17/10/12)

During her terms as Lombardía JAC president, she received several awards such as: collaboration spirit with the Lombardía community (Education Centre, 2002), best Suba JAC for her management, leadership, participation and project execution (Mayor's Office, 2003), excellent management and for being a kind woman who has helped us very much (Lombardía Community, 2003), best citizen in her locality – example for other leaders in Bogotá (Junior Chamber International 2004), honourable mention for her collaboration and support in favour of Suba's community promoting solidarity, civility and contributing to a peaceful coexistence (National Police 2004), awarded a medal for being one of the best leaders at national level (President of Colombia 2015) (photos 18)

Photo 20. Fanny Awards
Source: personal file Ome 2012





Regarding Fanny's perception, discourse and action about the ecological/environmental she and Emilia said the following:

"Ecobarrios aimed to generate an ecological identity and culture among people so that they would be aware of the importance of looking after the environment, ecosystem, avoiding pollution and maintaining equilibrium for example learning to handle waste and rubbish so that they can also use this... the idea was also to learn to be productive and sustainable obtaining resources...to implement a harmonious and integral development ...we did some ecological outings for example with the indigenous people from the Muisca indigenous reservation of Suba in order to connect with Earth and encourage that ecological awareness..."

Ecobarrios even helped me, I also started to change my habits and values, to have and apply an ecological identity and culture, recycling, eating organic products, being aware of the importance this has for us and our planet... it was also very interesting to see how I could help people through the micro-enterprises programme I suggested for using recycled products since in that way we could help the environment and generate income for these people who also need it... it also helped us to strengthen mechanisms to construct community such as fellowship and solidarity, for example, we all worked together on cobbling the roads, it was amazing! This was linked to other processes that we had with the Lombardía solidarity network...also sense of belonging with the neighbourhood and city and to heal ourselves so that we could live with others through ESPERE...in fact, Ecobarrios was a programme that marked me and for that and the people who asked me, I continued working on developing it and that's why I always sought a way to connect it with other district programmes and suggest projects from the JAC which enabled us to continue it... In truth, this programme influenced my life so much that a dream of mine came true because I now have a house in Chia and we are starting to implement Ecobarrios there...[...]...what we did not like from Ecobarrios was so much inter-institutional red tape..." (Fanny, pc, Bogotá, 2009, 2012)

"Fanny developed many projects: street and parking spaces cobbling, building of rainwater collection system, park improvement, recycling, urban agriculture, rubbish cleaning campaigns, recreational activities, sports, music and crafts workshops, theatre and dance

group, training in environmental issues, micro-enterprises, etc... with the implementation of these she earn our respect and affection not only for the material but also because she joined us and got everyone involved, that's why we re-elected her ..." (Emilia, pc, Bogotá, 17/10/12)

This brief approach to a part of Fanny's life story accounts for one of many variations of the Ecobarrios institutional trajectory. In this concrete case, we can observe how construction and strengthening of an individual political subject happened at the same time as the programme (together with her professional knowledge) became a scenario where it was possible for Fanny to have the tools to obtain differential power as president of the JAC - political position – with regard to other leaders and the rest of the community – which made it possible for her to foster the construction of a collective – community political subject through a participative strategy of shared leadership.

In this regard, Fanny managed to promote construction of said collective - community political subject more at a discursive level rather than practical, and with several particularities as the fact that this 'collective political subject' was mainly associated with/appropriated by the homeowners. At the discursive level, it was observed that both Fanny and most of homeowners interviewed (men, women and elderly) referred to themselves as a participatory and politically active community, where mostly homeowners worried and safeguard the common good. At a practical level, homeowners did come closer together and excluded the tenants, since, as Fanny explained and I observed, many (not all of them) were not interested in collaborating and, despite Fanny's struggle to help homeowners and come together, they did not.

That is why some of these homeowners (mostly women) started to appropriate several tasks to help Fanny's leadership, although there were some conflicts and tensions due to their diverse interests. However, this happened over the years, amidst tension that only in 2013, when Fanny left the neighbourhood and quit the JAC presidency for the second time, some homeowners (women) decided to take on a collective leadership role to work together on continuing all projects they had been developing with Fanny, which they had felt was beyond their skill and drive. Naturally, the fact that this collective political subject includes homeowners and excludes tenants reflects particularities of the context that must be taken into account when studying these processes. Despite Fanny's work towards eliminating these differences, as she had lived the same exclusion for coming from a higher social stratum area, many homeowners assumed it in another way, creating polarisation between them.

According to Fanny and homeowners (young, adults and elderly), the development of this politics of place was characterised by the development of 'trust', 'communication', 'solidarity' and 'comradeship' bonds (discursive categories) in harmonious communal living values (that for them were a reality in networks such as the solidarity one), application of mechanisms for conflict resolution under the forgiveness and reconciliation flag and Fanny productivity at the management level and her love for what she does. Furthermore, this politics of place were characterised by the construction of a neighbourhood- (urban) community identity and a "sense of belonging to the place and respect for diversity" (Fanny, pc, 12/06/12) (discursive object) in order to reduce tension generated by strata identity and the fact that Fanny is a women. According to Fanny and some owners, all these served to empower the neighbourhood's JAC and its inhabitants, facilitating resource attainment for developing new projects. At the same time, this led to Fanny being re-elected to continue working with a neighbourhood government and being awarded for her work at neighbourhood (by the same community that rejected her at first), district and national levels. She will continue to work in that way developing her new Ecobarrio project in Chia.

It is worth noting that although this was what Fanny and some homeowners thought, perceived and transmitted at discursive level, in practice for instance the neighbourhood – (urban) community identity, based on respect for 'diversity', excluded most of the tenants. Many, not all, tenants were not interested in participating but those who might have wanted to take part felt excluded. This confirms how important it is to understand this type of aspect in context.

Returning to Fanny's case a process of construction of an ecological individual subject is evident. Fanny led the collective by example, changing her habits and values; she transformed her life and discursive practices, becoming aware of her responsibility for the planet as was observed in her discursive objects, categories and strategies highlighted in the excerpts of her life story. Then, she started developing new ecological activities or discursive practices, which led her to re-signify places such as her house and neighbourhood, to establish more harmonious personal relationships and to consume and produce products that did not harm the environment/nature (since she uses both categories interchangeably). This aimed at developing an ecological identity and culture that promote productivity and sustainability.

Luz Karime is the second person whose interesting life story is rebuilt here as another example of a sub-trajectory derived from the institutional trajectory (I cannot include a photo because she does not like being photographed). When the programme was implemented,

she was 12 years old and due to her interest in being part of community and neighbourhood activities she was selected to be in charge of the several projects in the programme for the young, among them the “green leaders” project. From that moment she has been totally involved in the neighbourhood activities and nowadays she is a member of the JAC.

Reconstructing her life story was not easy either because there were some topics about which she did not want to talk. Hence, as with Fanny, I let her speak freely about what she felt comfortable, focussing on her relationship with Ecobarrios and her role in the neighbourhood from that moment until now. I also shared time with her and her family in her house and neighbourhood. We had exactly 5 ethnographic encounters between June and September 2012, apart from my ethnography days in the neighbourhood.

“I was born in Tulua, Valle del Cauca...I’m now 23 years old, and I am studying Systems engineering... with my mum, Lisinia, and my sisters, Daniela and Natalia, we arrived in the neighbourhood in the late 90’s, displaced by paramilitary armies... we left for Tulua because we were twice displaced from Valle del Cauca, once from a town called Sevilla during a guerrilla occupation, and the second time it was due to a massacre in Alaska, a village near Buga where the miraculous Christ is... My mom is head of household and she has done everything to provide for us: selling arepas, tamales, black pudding; cleaning houses; she had a fast food stall/bakery...

Regarding Karime’s perception, discourse and action about the ecological/environmental she said the following:

Ecobarrios was an incredible programme for us, it truly managed to generate change in people and that had an effect on the community...our day-to-day started to change, we started to recycle, look after the neighbourhood, stopped littering, we began to be aware that if we did that, we helped the environment and the planet and we guaranteed a better future for all...Ecobarrios sought to raise awareness, you could say one ecological and even human, based on respect and on the idea that we could work together for our neighbourhood’s and city’s well-being, carrying out projects or things like that...in my family’s cases, Ecobarrios also gave us income through a recycled crafts micro-enterprise and that has been very good for my mum...it became a family activity because my sisters and I help her ...in the same way that recycling for us is totally part of everyday life....

For me, one of the programme’s strengths was our work with children and the young...we developed the ecological component getting the school involved with the neighbourhood and engaging the children in recycling and through the “green leaders” project ... the young in general got involved with sport and cultural activities... one of the ones they liked the most was the break dance group ...nowadays all of us who lived here and participated in the programme want to reactivate it since doña Fanny left... through the dance, theatre group, with the bins we sometime put on the streets to raise awareness and for people to throw their rubbish in order to keep the neighbourhood clean and avoid contamination...

One of the activities that was very influential and we practised for a while in my house was urban agriculture...on the terraces of our houses we cultivated peppers, tomatoes, peas, corn, potatoes, lettuce, spiñach, raddish and many still do. We had to stop because we had

some leaking problems and the rest... but we learnt how to make compost and use kitchen waste ...

Many of us identified with this because we were born in rural areas, we come from a peasant culture¹⁰⁵ where many of our relatives are farmers and that is why they knew how to sow... that is how they learnt to glean (rastrojear) as doña Angela calls it ...then my mum and some neighbours went to the pastures nearby and collected sacks of crops' leftovers (potato, corn) and then shared with everybody... sometimes they even made corn "envueltos" from what they collected and then shared them...

Another very useful project was recycling...they made us realise that we can do our bit with regard to what is happening with the environment and planet...so we all started to recycle at the source, that is to say, at home and until today me and my family we do it, it is part of our daily life, the routine, it became a habit to classify and pile rubbish up, all this helped us to develop a recycling culture(photo 21)

Photo 21. Recycling
Source: personal file Ome 2012



This helped me to be aware of several things... for example at home we started to use products that did not pollute, save water, keep an eye on time under the shower, in the kitchen we started to use a washbowl to soap and rinse the dishes, we stopped using water directly from the tap, we just mopped the garaje, we did not throw buckets of water anymore...we recycled water from the washing machine, we used it in the toilet since we

¹⁰⁵ The term 'peasant culture' (cultura campesina in Spanish) refers herein to the habits and activities of the people who have been born or lived in the country or rural areas of Colombia.

stopped flushing the cistern, we then keep a bucket in the bathroom ...I feel that with all this we have done well... besides I search for a lot of information on Internet because I am interested in everything to do with the environment, because we have to think of what we are going to hand down to our children; if we continue the way we are, we are not going to leave them anything ...(photo 22)

Photo 22. Recycling water
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Regarding the construction and role of Karime as a political subject the following was observed:

"With Ecobarrios and other programmes we learnt that the neighbourhood is like our house, that is why we also look towards the outside so that the neighbourhood is clean and tidy like our house, then for example we sweep our street...we also consider our neighbours family ...we have sense of belonging ...we do this because during Ecobarrios doña Fanny implemented a project called block leaders (líderes de cuadra) and we were in charge of ensuring our block's and neighbours' well-being, keeping our street clean and tidy like our house, avoiding problems, not insulting each other, cooperating with one another, maintaining good communication through communication networks with the neighbours. All that has helped us to get to know each other, come together and look after each other, it has helped us to live in community..."

Ecobarrios for me reached beyond any other programme implemented by the Mayor's office because they cared about us, about the people, our particular stories and not just about building and I think that made a difference and left a mark on us!...

In my case, Ecobarrios drew out my interest in social work, in working with the community...and that was also thanks to Doña Fanny, who became a role model to follow...it helped me to be engaged, to connect with the people because up to that moment I was a very introverted child...to reach the adults and encourage the young ... from 'green leaders' I got my career focus and it taught me about how important it is to help others and be concerned about the environment... from that moment on, I have been involved in all neighbourhood JAC's activities, I always work with young people... for example on projects such as the solidarity network (Red Solidaria)...all that has opened the world to me ...

However, for me the one of programme's negative aspects is that they only monitored those community and JAC members who had been trained, like me, but not the rest of the community and that did not allow for the programme to remain strong in time... I also think that it has something to do with the fact that government officials from the Mayor's office need to become more humane, if they did, everything would surely be different because they would realise and consider our needs and difficulties..." (Karime, pc, 05/06/12; 09/07/12; 02/08/12; 22/08/12; 11/09/12)

This brief approach to Karime's story accounts for another of many branches of the Ecobarrios institutional trajectory. In the same manner as in Fanny's story, a construction and strengthening of an individual political subject is evident – one who has influence on the collective, stemming from projects such as Green Leaders. This project became a breeding ground for the micro-political at neighbourhood level and for the politics of place, through training young people in environmental issues and community organisation. Many of these young people decided to follow university and college courses related to social work and environmental engineering, get more involved in JAC tasks or work at district entities. They aimed "to participate in an effective political manner" (Karime, 07/009/12) in their neighbourhood, locality and even city development, preparing to become JAC presidents or taking on a position at district government level from where they could make an impact on their neighbourhood or city. For example, they strengthened the youth group through play activities and 'raising awareness' opportunities to plan strategies to look after their neighbourhood and the planet, and contribute to a neighbourhood development plan they designed with Fanny. They still work in this group although it has experienced some conflicts; they think they have had fewer conflicts than the adults because they have been friends from an early age, which makes their work easier. Their relaxed meetings have enabled them to plan integration projects for the young which have counted on locality support.

Karime's narrative about herself gives an account of how having participated in Ecobarrios and having worked hand in hand with Fanny taught her about community leadership, not

only on environmental issues. Her position of differential power at that moment was not to make high-impact decisions as Fanny could, but she was able to organise the neighbourhood inhabitants, or govern a group – community towards specific objectives – rubbish collection, grass cultivation, outdoor activities. This differential power is due to qualities and abilities such as being able to speak in public and persuade, which Karime developed thanks to training with Green Leaders. She also took advantage of mechanisms she promoted such as the communication and neighbourhood collaboration networks among all neighbours. This makes sense for Karime as she is guided by discourses (discursive objects, categories and strategies highlighted in the excerpts of her life story), such as altruism and environmentalism from which she assumes a position as subject, runs her life and discursive practices and that of her immediate neighbours and family, hoping to improve them.

Among other things, this is why she as engineering student wants to continue specialising in compiling data bases for people with disabilities and altruism which she recognises as a product of Green Leaders. Also, she wants to continue doing social work, particularly with young people – transforming their delinquent behaviours and drug addiction – and consolidate her role as neighbourhood leader (through uninterrupted involvement with the JAC). This can be understood as a transformation of said differential power in time, and its evolution towards greater impact on the collective environment, neighbourhood for now. This impact is already evident since, as I observed during field work, people support and get involved in all her initiatives, trusting her projection as future leader of Lombardía and even of the city “thanks to her great passion and charisma for what she does” (Tatiana, pc, 09/08/12).

Also, like with Fanny, a construction of an individual ecological subject is evident: one who has influence on the collective. Karime transformed her everyday life (and discursive practices), as she says, through new habits and values becoming aware of her responsibility for the environment / nature (discursive categories she also uses interchangeably) and the planet's future. She then started to develop ‘ecological activities’ – of production (microenterprise) and consumption – which she still carries out, and led her to re-signify places such as her house and neighbourhood, both now understood as her home, including objects of the material culture in them. It also implied resignification of her relationships with her family and neighbours (also family now), strengthening her bonds and sense of belonging. All this happened based on the idea of promoting a recycling culture and an ecological identity which contribute to productivity and sustainability. In this case, it is worth highlighting how all this identification process was made easier, according to Karime, by her

belonging to a 'peasant culture' (discursive category), where the relationship with nature and practices such as agriculture are different, since they are part of everyday life unlike city life. According to Karime, this makes the relationship with and knowledge of nature (discursive category) in the country closer and deeper than in the city since it is respected and loved as people depend on it for their sustenance. She argues that it does not happen in the city in the same way and explains why so many people are not aware of its importance.

Thus, based on the analysis and interpretation of daily discourses and practices, it can be said that Ecobarrios, as institutional discursive practice, fostered (in cases such as Lombardía with its particular context conditions) construction and strengthening of a certain type of place-based ecological and political subjects – individual and collective, hybrid - shifting¹⁰⁶. They transformed and continue to do so through every programme stage and mainly due to the diverse ways in which actors involved have appropriated and re-signified discursive practices associated to it over time. This was revealed by the distinctive narratives and ethnographic information, product of the diverse branches of the Ecobarrio institutional trajectory.

I categorise them as hybrid not only in the sense that the programme itself is a hybrid of discourses and environmentalist and planning practices, derived from diverse representation regimes, which end up promoting construction of hybrid subjects and identities (as subjectivities). The construction of said subjects and identities occurs in a hybrid – political - complex way in the long term by active subject/actors who inhabit a currently hybrid (not homogeneous) world where there are constant political dynamics (of power relations) of shifting relation/tension/negotiation between places, the local, regional, national, global and planetary. This hybridisation transforms depending on particulars of the political, social, cultural and religious context, on people's interests and even their diverse roles and identities of gender, class, origin (country-city), age or homeowner-tenant status which depend on place.

Therefore, in this case – in daily life – the ecological and political do not have a fixed meaning but a shifting one. It is relative because every person understands, assumes and lives it his/her way; it is hybrid because both dimensions – ecological and political - mix together and are appropriated, re-signified or rejected in different ways. However, according to field observations and narratives analysed, it could be said that with regard to the ecological dimension there exists a dynamics oscillation between the ecological/spiritual

¹⁰⁶ It is important to clarify that this does not imply that people simultaneously exerted and/or exert any other type of identity depending on their diverse roles in different contexts (mother, woman, stratum 3, etc.).

being and the ecological/environmental subject. It seemed to lean to the ecological/environmental subject since, as it was observed, the original programme's philosophy and the ecological/spiritual being ended up became mostly blurred. This makes sense because this philosophy did not seek to generate subjects but, on the contrary, spiritual reflexive dynamics to de-subject them from modernity's matrix (within includes institutions) and generate transition to being. Nevertheless, these reflexive dynamics with a more religious and paternalistic emphasis are kept and mixed with individual – family and collective – community discursive practices derived from environmentalisms (mainly from ecological modernisation) aiming to foster an ecological/environmental awareness and environmental culture. All this was promoted by a circumstantial context involving the human/species transition, global warming and climate change as highlighted in Bogotá's urban planning scenario.

Thus, Ana and Carlos' initial ecological spiritual approach ends up diluting because government officials cannot translate it from a modern institutional matrix. It results in a more instrumental, paternalistic even religious approach where people are seen as *tabula rasa* who must be 'educated and civilised' by the State in order to create new ecological and political subjects, forgetting (or given less importance) about people's traditional, cultural and experiential knowledge and their action/reaction capacity.

This occurred in the middle of a shifting, more aware relationship with nature/environment (for those who had not had previous daily contact with rural surroundings). Although this relationship happens in public places such as parks (through tree planting, etc.) and private places (orchards, etc.) under discourses for protection and conservation, it still implies a perception of being separated from it. Those who had previously lived in rural areas in turn connected more easily with this type of discourses since, as they said, they came from a 'peasant culture' where they lived with nature every day. This entailed replicating country practices in the city such as gleaning, sharing their cultural knowledge with neighbours, who as they said, learnt from them. It is important to bear in mind that although some interviewees had not been born or lived in rural areas, they still connected with these discourses given their likes and interest in establishing a relationship with nature/environment and in activities related to it; hence, they searched for activities such as walks in Bogotá hills or nearby towns.

Nevertheless, this did not imply that for those that established an easier connection with nature, developed a total awareness of their non-dichotomous relationship with it and the other living beings, in a way similar to indigenous cosmogonies where we are all one or

approaches such as deep spiritual ecology. This makes sense if we keep in mind that we all live in a transitional, hybrid world where despite all current or ancient approaches (such as spiritual and deep ecology and indigenous cosmologies) we continue to be part of modern structures that influence our lives, perceptions, representations and action capacity. Change and transformation processes are affected by these, generating tension from individual and collective resistance or lack of understanding.

Regarding the political, most of the people who worked closely with the programme ended up associating it to their role and identity (subjectivity) as empowered –active – citizens, committed to (or attempting) a critical, conscious and assertive participation, as individuals – family and collective – community. Most of the homeowners wanted to promote a democratic governability, 'ecological' in this case through citizen culture and their capacity for self-management and self-help. In this particular case, the JAC's president enjoys special micro-empowerment to strengthen her role as neighbourhood leader by using rationales such as sustainability and holistic and base development. In this way, she becomes a key actor for collective mobilisation and development of social transformation in the neighbourhood that has an impact at other levels (zone, locality, city) and in strengthening a previously non-existent community identity.

Then, her role is of an interscalar connector between the institutional – local and the individual – family – collective – communal. This also happens with people like Karime (green leaders) or those who were/are block leaders, but at a neighbourhood level, who in some cases have interacted with the zonal and urban. This generates scenarios of possibility and development of social transformations in those political interstices in tension (of power relations between the institutional and local), where strategies such as neighbourhood, zone, and locality committees and solidarity networks are created. In these interstices people such as Fanny and Karime act and exert their agency moving between levels (block, neighbourhood, UPZ, locality, city, etc.) and connecting them.

However, these actors' roles in those micro-political scenarios was not easy, entailed tensions, conflicts and disagreements between individuals and groups, even by gender and social class, which led to unexpected events such as generation of a homeowner community identity that excluded tenants. This made evident the neighbourhood's particular individual and collective interactions that characterise and transform those political interstices and shape the construction of political subjects and what is understood by them in each case.

In this specific case, subjects belong to (hybrid) micro–eco-politics of place from which they transform and give meaning to their lives and modify their personal and public surroundings. For example, some women formed their political subjectivity based on recycling discursive practices as they generated a recycling discipline not only for themselves but their entire families, neighbours and acquaintances, both in their private/domestic spaces (house) and public space (neighbourhood). In many cases, they got involved, for the first time, in neighbourhood issues, extending the field in which they can exert differential power by using ‘expert ecological knowledge’ (in discourse and practice) about recycling¹⁰⁷. Therefore, Karime’s assertion that her neighbourhood is her house is not surprising; this reveals formation of the political in these programmes, very closely to the famous feminist slogan “the personal is political” (Hanish, 1970).

Thus, although gender transformations in these micro-eco-political scenarios occurred where women became politically active in the neighbourhood, locality and city, and prepared themselves for those roles, certain gender stereotyped roles are also reinforced – women are in charge of the home and children’s education, now including the ecological/environmental while men provides for his family. This is not surprising considering that these ideas about gender roles are still part of cultural, social, economic and political structures in countries like Colombia, which despite transforming with current dynamics continue to be male chauvinist, conservative and religious in people’s perceptions and imaginaries where women look after the home and children while men work.

The latter affects the micro-politics of place in the urban context foster transformations at personal and collective levels, for instance, of power relations, through committees and solidarity networks in the block, neighbourhood, locality and city, which in turn connect to diverse scales (house, block, neighbourhood, UPZ, locality, city). That is why places in Lombardía, like the house, block, park, community hall, church (including objects that provide them with meaning), become dynamic places of constant appropriation and/or negotiation and/or of dismissal of (not taking into account) ecological/environmental discursive practices promoted by this programme. These continue to transform and be re-signified together with places and associated material culture, as neighbourhood inhabitants, or together with the locality and district as part of the UPZ and city, continue to develop new projects and/or daily activities that include them, under the umbrella of environmentalisms and influence from actors’ cultural traditions (e.g. ‘campesina’).

¹⁰⁷ This happened because recycling is an issue inherent to home administration and domestic life, implying that it concerns women keeping in mind that, at least in most known cases, they are tied to patriarchal power rationales, to a certain extent, distinctive of division of work between men and women, rationales working between the public and the private.

This is how these places also become pedagogic places of change (to which I referred in section 3.1) where interviewees' activities, habits, behaviours and relations are transformed, both individually and collectively through mechanisms such as teaching and certain actors who lead by example (a mother teaches her children and sets a good example regarding recycling behaviours, etc.). In addition, expert and local knowledge meet here nurturing experiences and practices in these places, even if local, traditional knowledge is not valued from a paternalist perspective because priority is given to expert knowledge. This is clear when observing aspects such as urban agriculture. Although expert-led workshops were in place, these did not take into account the fact that some were born and had lived in the country and their daily life involved agriculture or that maybe they were interested, liked or had worked in this activity and would have knowledge they could contribute, apply and share with their neighbours (as they do in their daily life).

The later happened because the construction of subjects, subjectivities and identities involves place-making processes and entails the above mentioned dynamics (García 2005). Another example of this was also observed in this case through the neighbourhood's ecological/environmental identity- as subjectivity, which develops and strengthens through generation of a sense of belonging and roots. According to some of the interviewed residents this allows to maintain Lombardía (unlike other neighbourhoods) as an 'inhabitable' place, that is to say 'clean', 'safe', 'pretty', 'tidy', 'green' where their daily ecological/environmental activities avoid pollution and help the planet and future generations.

Neighbourhood identities reveal that although we live in a globalised world and transitional context, we are still part of nation-States, of a modernity matrix, where identities as subjectivities still constitute power mechanisms connected to place for both institutions and actors involved in these dynamics. Therefore, relationship and bond with place continue to be important. The above also may be understood as a consequence of the role Ecobarrios played as government technology, as part of a hybrid eco-governmentality (with influence from NPM – which I mentioned in the previous chapter). The use of power technologies (of the self and the market) and normalisation disciplinary practices (such as those employed by the ESPERE, green leaders and the programme itself) had an impact on construction processes of eco-political individual and collective subjects and identities ('reflexive', 'empowered', 'self-managed', 'self-regulated', 'civilised', among other discursive categories), transforming ways of feeling, thinking, speaking and doing.

It is worth mentioning that, as stated by Ulloa (2008) and as seen through ethnographic work, this new type of eco-governmentality goes beyond the limits of the nation-State and connects with the global scale. Here, expert and local knowledge about this type of ecological/environmental discourses and practices circulate and are easily accessible to people from their places, through mass media such as the Internet, as it happened in this case and was highlighted in interview extracts.

From the above, we may observe how the State continues to (visibly and invisibly) influence codes, regulation, production and transformation of social life, the political and surroundings through government technologies such as Ecobarrios and establishing a hybrid structure of possibilities that define people's action parameters to mould human and social behaviours (Inda 2005). However, as observed in this case, subjects/actors (people in the end) respond to these dynamics in different ways derived from their exercise of recent eco-governmentality. Some have been part of social transformations at a certain level derived from this process while others voluntarily did not want to take part in the programme because they did not get along with Fanny or the programme did not resonate with them and have other interest or were not allowed to take part because they were tenants. Thus, it can be argued that processes derived from programmes like Ecobarrios end up being less participative than publicised and initially intended, becoming another way of controlling citizens (who react) without taking into account their interests, opinions and knowledge in practice.

Furthermore, this case is interesting because it enables an anthropological exploration of how actors like Ana and Carlos exist even within institutionalism who devise programmes like Ecobarrios, while holding holistic-spiritual aims and from a more horizontal network political perspective. These facts left their trace on the people and influenced their individual empowerment and development of strategies such as solidarity networks and/or alliances that facilitated and strengthened collective work. This begs to question the analysis of power relations between institutions and society (both constituted by people) as nuanced and complex, even more so in the current transitional context characterised by hybrid and interscalar dynamics among the global, regional, national, urban, local, neighbourhood block and person.

Finally, in terms of urban environmental governance and politics, this chapter revealed several aspects to consider for the implementation of district programmes, in this case associated with environmental issues. First, the implementation paths that these programmes can take depend on how the officials or their implementers interpret them.

Then how people, in this case neighbourhood residents, appropriate, re-signify or even reject them, if they are not interested in what those programmes seek to promote. This first aspect, although it may seem too obvious to many, I consider it important to highlight, since it is generally not taken into account in the design and implementation process of these programmes. To really consider it, involves doing previous research to know and understand where, how and on whom these programmes will be implemented. To take into account their particular contexts, their perceptions about the issues in question and mainly their interests. Since it is the only way to ensure a successful implementation of these programmes.

In the case of programmes associated with environmental issues, some of the relevant aspects to be taken into account, as observed in this case, not only by planners and government officials but also by researchers and NGO's are for example: What people think about the current situation on the planet? Do they consider that we are experiencing a social and environmental crisis? A paradigm shift? That we are going through a period of climate change, which has consequences for the planet and all the beings that inhabit it? Also, what categories do they use and how do they define nature? How do they relate with nature? Being born and living in the countryside or in the city involves different relationships with nature? The answers to the above questions vary depending on the gender, age and social stratum? These types of inquiries will allow an approach to be taken in the different urban natures, taking them into account for the design and implementation of programmes, or even research, that are associated with environmental issues.

I also consider it relevant that planners and government officials question what kind of plans, policies or programmes they want to implement: those that aim to support and encourage this paradigm shift at this time of transition? Those who seek to greening everyday habits and infrastructure? Or maybe combine them both to contribute to a change of consciousness? Another different? The later will also depend on the type of information they collect, from what was stated in the previous paragraph, since they must take it into account the type of project, plan, programme or policy they wish to develop.

Once planners and government officials have identified the above, an innovative dimension of the Ecobarrios programme can be taken into account to evaluate its inclusion in other programmes, projects, plans or policies, is the spiritual dimension. Regardless of how people interpret it (as long as tolerance for beliefs is maintained), it can be useful to generate dynamics of tolerance, empathy, unconditional love and respect. These factors encourage living in harmony internally, through mechanisms of self-reflection and

empowerment, to be able to do it with the others. Regardless of the case, the later can contribute to have a better quality of life in the city, with other living beings and with the planet. Also, taking into account the opinions of the inhabitants of Lombardía, another dimension that can be evaluated to be included is the social dimension. This dimension allowed all (children, youth, adults, elderly and disabled of both genders) to empower themselves, to facilitate coexistence, to generate more participatory decision-making processes, and even to foster collective leadership that went hand in hand with Fanny's leadership (obviously not without tension).

Another aspect recommended by the inhabitants of Lombardía, is that government officials and planners have a more human approach to the inhabitants. This means that they take into account that they are human beings like them, with interests and needs, hence they want to be included in the decision making processes that involve them. This also implies that officials and planners must recognise the importance of traditional knowledge of the inhabitants in their territories and the practices they develop in them. Examples of this are associated with nature / environment, to work together with their technical knowledge, the sense of belonging of the inhabitants with the place, (as I have seen in other cases and in my own) at Bogotá level there is a greater identification with the neighbourhood than with the UPZ. If the above is achieved, it will facilitate the development and implementation of this type of plan and programmes and the construction of participatory governance.

The later is also directly related to the ethical responsibility of being aware of the consequences of the implementation of these programmes, for example, in the generation of new subjects or identities as subjectivities. This is an aspect, that although it seems to be obvious, again many times it is not applied in real life. Therefore, I also consider key to follow up on the implementation of these programmes, to accompany them and provide the necessary advice, as well as to analyse their developmental trajectories for academic purposes.

Regarding the multi-scalar analysis I observed the following. On the one hand, the multi-scalar analysis is much more complex, since people are crossed by all these levels. Examples of this can be shown in the case of Carlos and Ana where they had the label of government officials, therefore, they were associated with the construction of the institutional level. But at the same time they are citizens and inhabitants of their respective neighbourhoods, with their particular life stories, for which they also built the local level and everyday life. Therefore, this analysis raises a complexity that must be taken into account when considering any type of project or research, to really be able to cover (to some extent)

the different dimensions and the complexity of their interactions. Since these interactions are travelling in different directions, starting from the ideas of Ana and Carlos that were shaped into a project like Ecobarrios and that later travelled by diverse associated sub trajectories - the documents where they were shaped, the government officials who implemented the programme and then with the inhabitants of Bogotá's 143 neighbourhoods. The inhabitants appropriated, re-signified or rejected the programme and its ideas in their daily lives, according to the particular conditions of each person.

It is also important the study of place in a global context, from an anthropological and ethnographic perspective. To understand how these global, regional or national discursive practices travel and are appropriate, re-signified or rejected from cities and people who inhabit them in places like the neighbourhoods, where each one of them has diverse life stories. The importance of the human side of the institutional dimension must be taken into account, that is, the people behind the labels of government officials, who have life stories that undoubtedly influence the emergence of programmes such as Ecobarrios. Realising how important it is not only to reconstruct the public history of these types of programmes or policies but also the unofficial history, which is not in the documents, and allows a much better understanding of the genesis and development of them.

However, it is also important to highlight that this ethnography is only a brushstroke of what could be this type of multi-scalar analysis, letting its complexity be seen through this limitation. As obviously it requires much more time and more people to achieve a greater depth and representativeness at each of the scales and levels (discursive and practical).

So after having explored Ecobarrio's institutional trajectory its journeys, comings and goings, bifurcations, between the institutional and local levels, from the perspective of the construction of subjects and identities, I will explore the local initiative trajectory through Triángulo case.

Chapter 6. Triángulo Narratives of Ecobarrios: the Dwellers Production of Eco-political Subjects and Identities Discourse

In this chapter I explore, reconstruct and deconstruct Ecobarrios local initiative story and narratives in order to understand the proposal that was and is behind this label, why it emerged; from where; from whom; how. I do so aiming to understand if both proposals (the programme and local initiative) under the label of Ecobarrios are connected or not, why; whether they have similar entry points or not, similar sources and processes of eco-governmentality. I start doing a discourse analysis on the proposal that the people from El Triángulo have regarding eco-political identities as with the institutional programme. Before doing that, I provide a historical contextualisation of El Triángulo case study that explains how this neighbourhood located in the south of the city was constituted; who lives there; where they come from (namely through processes of displacement and migration); their cultural backgrounds, among other characteristics.

6.1 Triángulo as a case study

Although I explained why I chose this case in the introduction, it is worth mentioning that I decided to analyse it because in 2009 some people, who asked me not to reveal their identities, told me that I should not spend time conducting this study because it was a lost case and they did not give me many details about the reasons because it was 'politically incorrect'; hence, I decided to understand why. Also, I chose this case because, apparently (accordingly to what I found in primary and secondary sources), it is the first example (in the world) where inhabitants are contesting the threat of eviction and resettlement by using the Ecobarrios discourse and practices as part of a grassroots initiative in an urban context. This is a case where Ecobarrios discourse has been used as a defence-place mechanism which enables the study of the construction process and dynamics of this place-based eco-political subject's project. Thus my intention is to explore why and how nowadays Ecobarrios places in this neighbourhood become local spaces of contestation to resettlement policies.

I started visiting the area in 2009 and conducted my *ethnographic work* in Triángulo between June 2012 and January 2013. Firstly, I built the history of Triángulo to understand how this area was populated, the formation of each of the neighbourhoods and the history of its inhabitants. The process was very interesting since there was not an official or public history of such a 'territory'. Therefore, I had to revise the primary and secondary historical sources from San Cristobal local Mayor, documentation and information centres of San Cristobal locality and San Cristobal Hospital, as well as the personal archives of the

neighbourhood dwellers. As part of this exercise, I noticed that institutions had maps, diagnostics and books about the locality and the eastern hills in general, but not any information or record about Triángulo and its neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, the inhabitants provided me with fascinating sources such as photos of the people and place from the first settlers to the present, as well as maps of Triángulo constituting neighbourhoods and even theses written about the area (see annex 14). Also, through fieldwork, semi-structured and ethnographic interviews and a mapping workshop, I gathered inhabitants' narratives, which are closely examined throughout the chapter.

Moreover, as I was doing my fieldwork, a series of unexpected events occurred, which I will describe throughout the following sections. These events were crucial to my research because they allowed me to complete the institutional phase, more specifically, to contextualise the significance of Triángulo within the wider scenario of Bogotá's urban planning. In order to do so, I carried out a methodological exercise, under the influence of the political ethnography approach, arranging 13 face-to-face encounters with 13 officials of the Planning Secretary, Habitat Secretary, Regional Autonomous Corporation (Corporación Autónoma Regional - CAR), Fund for the Prevention and the Attention of Emergencies (Fondo de Prevención y Atención de Emergencias - FOPAE), IDPAC, San Cristóbal Sur Local Mayor, San Cristobal Hospital, Archives Centre - San Cristobal Locality and Popular Housing Office (see annex 15). I did not distribute the same questionnaire in all interviews, but I asked specific questions about the context of this territory within the framework of planning in Bogotá, according to the area of expertise of each of the interviewees. Then, I addressed issues such as risk, the forest reserve area, strip of adjustment and urban perimeter, Ecobarrios, official cartography and POT. What is more, thanks to the officials mentioned above, I had access to primary and secondary sources (maps and reports) of the zone (see annex 16). Through all these sources, I reconstructed the following history (partially reconstructed by Andres Salcedo in 1998), which is just an approximation to the long version (due to space limitations).

6.2 Triángulo: the history of a 'territory'

Triángulo territory is located on the eastern hills at the south of the city and is part of San Cristobal locality, UPZ 32 – San Blas, socioeconomic stratum 1 (see figure 7). Currently, this informal settlement is inhabited by about 300 families is constituted by four neighbourhoods: Triángulo Bajo, Triángulo Alto, Manantial and currently not by Corinto (photo 23). As explained by Hector the territory is located:

“...in the upper basin of the Fucha river, in an adjustment strip of the Forest Reserve of the Eastern Hills surrounded by native flora and fauna. The gulch Chuscal passes through the neighbourhoods, and there is also a wide variety of green spaces. Most people are employees who work in the construction sector, housekeeping and services...we have social problems, such as: de-schooling, malnutrition, girls’ pregnancies, psychoactive substances consumption, alcoholism at an early age, and domestic violence” (Héctor, pc, 17/04/12)

Figure 7. Map of Bogotá - Location of San Cristobal.
Source: institutional file DAPD 2009

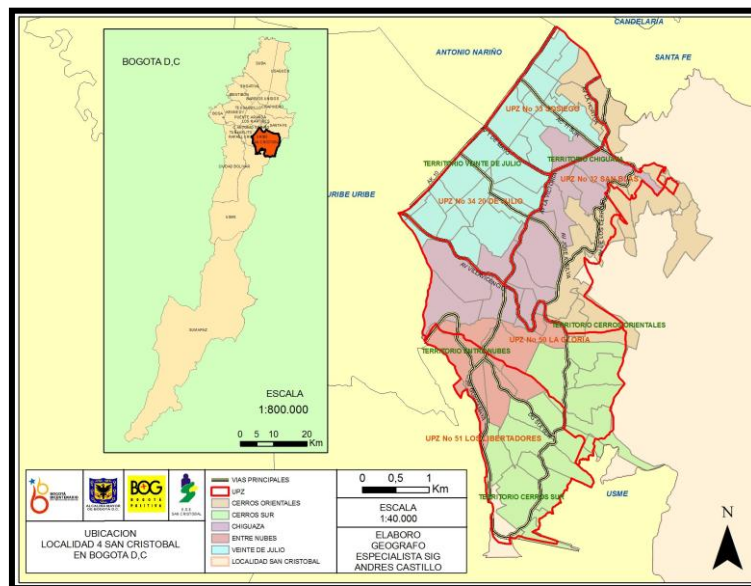


Photo 23. Aerial photograph of the four neighbourhoods
Source: institutional file FOPAE 2012



According to local stories and more precisely to the oldest inhabitants, at the beginning of the twentieth century when their parents arrived in the Triángulo territory, the area was peaceful. Most of the initial settlers were farmers from the rural areas of Colombia (Boyacá,

Tolima, Santander, Choco and Antioquia) who had arrived in Bogotá to find new opportunities. They were hired there to guard the local farms or to work at the 'brickworks' making establishments. According to these accounts when the 'invaders'¹⁰⁸ arrived at Triángulo Alto between 1970 and 1980, they started to have problems among them (for instance, due to the drugs business that they brought to the area), and eventually the territory became divided into three neighbourhoods: Manantial, Triángulo Alto and Triángulo Bajo. Then, with the foundation of Corinto by the insurgent movement M19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril) in 1980's, violence increased. This movement, which sought to help those in need, brought homeless people, drug dealers, 'zorreros' and 'street vendors' to be the new inhabitants of the territory, who soon started to have conflicts with other neighbours. They began to kill each other, to burn and sack their houses, and rape women; all this broke the social fabric and trust opening deep wounds and reinforcing the boundaries of each of the neighbourhoods (Salcedo 1998).

Regarding the above, some inhabitants described their neighbourhood's history in more detail (Manantial, Corinto, Triángulo Alto and Triángulo bajo respectively), according to their own experiences, perceptions and what they consider relevant:

*"My name is Martha. I have been living here in **Manantial** for 60 years [Photo 24]. I remember that there was neither electricity nor stoves when I was young. There were just hills. Up there were only trees. The owners of everything were Leonor Pinzón and Efraín Cuervo...these were called Ana Adelina's and Don Efraín Cuervo's plots. There were no neighbourhoods here. At that time, there were a lot of animals, horses, donkeys. It was very beautiful, clean, quiet and solitary. The families living here were Adelina's, Efraín Cuervo's, Félix Tautiva's, Carmen León's and Pedro Guzmán's. Daddy arrived in 1936, when he got married to Mum, and we were all born here.*

Here we carried firewood to cook. Mum had a firewood oven. On Sundays, we used to come home with bulks of firewood from the hills. We took the water from springs; it was clean, it came from the ground. We used it to wash things and cook. We brought the food on manes and donkeys from Don Lupo's down there...we helped my father to grow criolla potatoes, peas, carrots, onions, broad beans for domestic consumption and to give as presents...Mum Adelina grew pansies... there were lots of cement plants.

Problems appeared when the M19 arrived. I was about 23... I remember there was a shootout and everything... this was really frightening...they cut down all the trees up there. They started to build houses and founded the neighbourhood Corinto. That was invasion, and they brought a lot of people...our peace was ended. There was a time when I don't know who wanted to take them out of here, so they set up fire to those shanties." (Martha pc, 11/06/12)

¹⁰⁸ In this case, 'invaders' refers to people who occupy lands illegally and arbitrarily with the aim of building and inhabiting (Vasquez 2013)

Photo 24. Manantial
Source: personal file Ome 2009



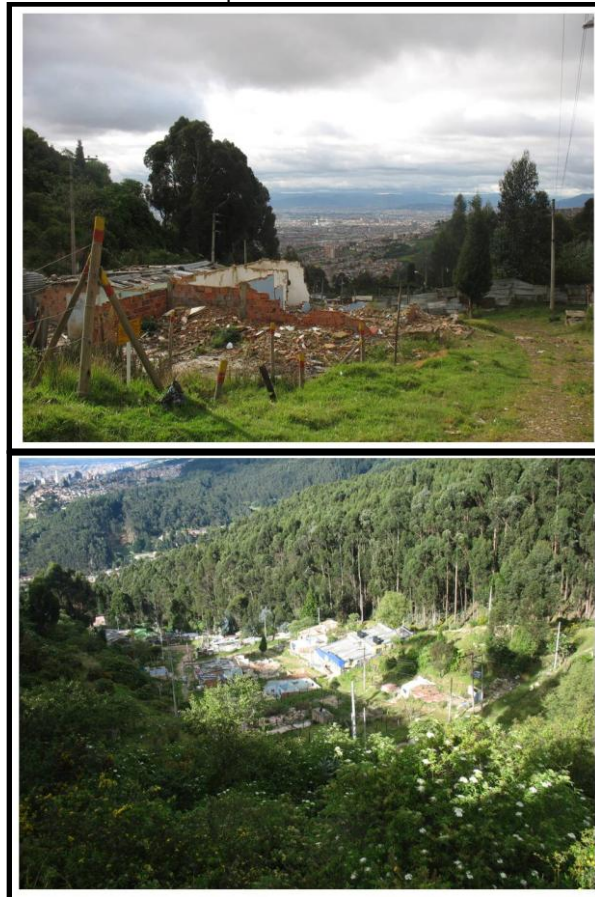
"When we arrived in Manantial in the 1970's as victims of forced displacement, there was no electricity. We did some gatherings to buy the steel cable and put it from below because there were poles on the road; then, we brought logs from the hills, tied them, and like that, we brought electricity to each house. We all started to reorganise the houses with water, as well. People from each block brought their hose. Water was brought and pipelines were installed so that everyone had their own bathroom and the pipelines with their corresponding tubes. This way, each house got water and they were connected to the main water pipeline which was on the hills. Sewage was put in the ramp. We made a pipeline for them. Next, on the road we put a bigger pipe to avoid damages. That pipe met the gulch. Nowadays there is drainage. When the aqueduct company arrived to legalise the procedure, they damaged the road. Problems arose at that moment. That pipeline is not suitable for these lands. Any little thing can plug it. Here all pipelines got plugged, and people from the aqueduct company say it's not their problem, so we have to unplug the pipelines ourselves and take the water out." (Concepción, pc, 04/04/12)

"All this territory was called just Triángulo. Then, it was called Triángulo Alto. When they started to build down there, they gave it the name of Triángulo Bajo, and the neighbourhood Manantial was also part of those constructions. Everything happened at the same time. I have fought because they changed the name of Triángulo Alto and called it Manantial, and it was always part of Triángulo Alto. In the map of Bogotá it appears as Triángulo. He who changed the name was Don diablo, and I argued with him because of that. We all as a family founded that, and it is signed like that." (Anonymous, pc, 06/04/12)

*"At that time, in the 1980's, in the neighbourhood **Corinto**, formerly called Quitasol [Photo 25], some families left and others arrived. There were more and more people coming. For*

instance, I came here because of a friend who lived near La Cuchilla. She, Rosa, came with the M19, but she has already left because she was relocated. She told me to visit her. I did, and she offered me a lot. At that time there was a lot of violence and I said that I was not going to live over there. On that day, when I was going down on foot, I met a lady who sold plots of land here in the neighbourhood. She offered the plots of land and others charged for them. When one accepted the little plot of land, one thought that it was for free, and then, they said that it had a cost. They sold mine for 15000 in 1984. The people from Corinto were the ones who sold the plots of land here. One of them was Mercedes and the Gaitanes. They were the ones who ruled. When they were children the place was very quiet, but when the Gaitanes grew up, they were the ones who sold and robbed. We, who lived here, had to work together because they were going to get rid of us. When I arrived here, there were 5 families and in the lower part were more. At that moment we made a community pool because we did not have where to wash things. People from the brickworks gave us the pipes, and we worked like ants passing the bricks, and we put down hoses for water. We had to look for the main hose in the hills to be able to connect to it and have water for all of us.” (Clara, pc, 05/04/12)

Photo 25. Corinto
Source: personal file Ome 2012

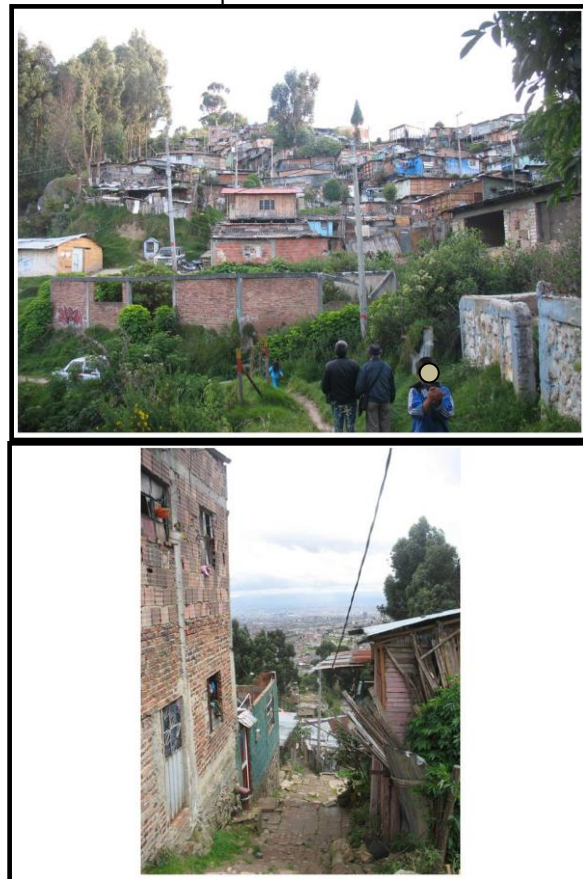


“We arrived in **Triángulo Alto** [Photo 26] in 1988. We belong to a family from Boyacá and Santander. Here lived my aunt Angelina, who had a shop. Also, my grandfather lived in a shanty in the part over there. He was one of the first who arrived in 1970 approximately. His name was Pacífico. People say that here lived a man named Jhon Hanser and my grandfather did business with him. He sold him all land you see. My father was taken to prison because he bought from a fraudster. That man who sold plots of land left the problem and disappeared. He sold plots of land in Manantial, but he never came back.

Here the plots of land don't have an exact measurement. Each has a different measurement. All of them are triangular. For that reason, the place was called *Triángulo* because all the plots of land go slantwise. Here nothing of that existed. There was a woman called *Estrella*, who had been living here for about forty years. I remember that at that time we used firewood for cooking, and sometimes, we used gasoline, which we had to bring from the sacred family. It was too far away, and it was very hard. We had to wait in a queue for 'cosinol' from two in the morning to midday.

My grandmother had a vegetable garden, and we got some potatoes, pumpkins; we made juice, we brought the other food items on foot from San Cristóbal town which was far away. After the invasions of the plots of land and the occupation of the place called *La Cuchilla*, a man named *Fructuoso* arrived. He began to nominate himself as a community leader. As we were several families, we had to name a JAC. I was fifteen. He got the legal status, and we started to work around the neighbourhood, raising funds to make things. He was named president and I was the neighbourhood's beauty queen. We got the ramp built with the money we had." (Anonymous, pc, 06/04/12)

Photo 26. *Triángulo Alto*
Source: personal file Ome 2012



"We lived in **Triángulo Bajo** [Photo 27]. I have been living here for thirty years, and I was seven when I arrived in here. I just came to play and they made me take care of the long sticks. Mr. Juan warned me that they were going to invade the lower part. Everyone took after and cut the long sticks. The police showed up and took us out of here more than four times until a police officer broke a foot and they stopped bothering us. The neighbourhood got crowded really quickly. All of them were and are a family. Mrs. Graciela and Mr. Pacífico were already there. Every eight days we formed work brigades. Mrs. Inés supported us so that we were not sent off, and we went to the brickworks. They gave us pipes and bricks

because lots of houses were in 'paroid'. Mrs. Inés and Mr. Fructuoso helped me. I had the plot of land with agave. My father worked outside Bogotá, and when he arrived, I told him about the plot of land and he was happy. He helped to found the first school." (Eduardo, pc, 17/04/12)

Photo 27. Triángulo Bajo
Source: Ome personal file 2012



"The water for food was brought from the Bacata and from the Alpes lake, about 37 years ago. We brought electricity about 13 years ago, and it was legal. The drainage was legalised 5 years ago because we have to pay for that. We also legalised the purchase of the little plots of land. We had to do the notarisation, which is like an identity card given by the notary, showing that we are the owners of the plot of land because there was not a promise to purchase since the greedy men who sold the plot of land never gave us anything." (Juan, pc, 06/12/12)

Thus, many Triángulo inhabitants come from Colombian rural areas due to a variety of reasons such as forced displacement or in search of a better future in the city, as they expressed it. In general, while men work in construction, security companies (as watchmen), cleaning (rubbish collection for the district) and transport of goods, most women were housewives. However, as needs increase, women have started to work outside the home too cleaning houses or public establishments, selling at food stores or even making 'arepas' and 'envueltos' to sell in street stalls. Some children attend Manantial school (the only one in the area) and some go to the state schools in San Cristobal locality. In the meantime, young people may leave school and due to problems at home or out of need have ended

falling into addiction (drugs, alcohol), stealing or working. Finally, the elderly spend most of their time at home looking after their grandchildren while parents go to work or have to stay because of frail health.

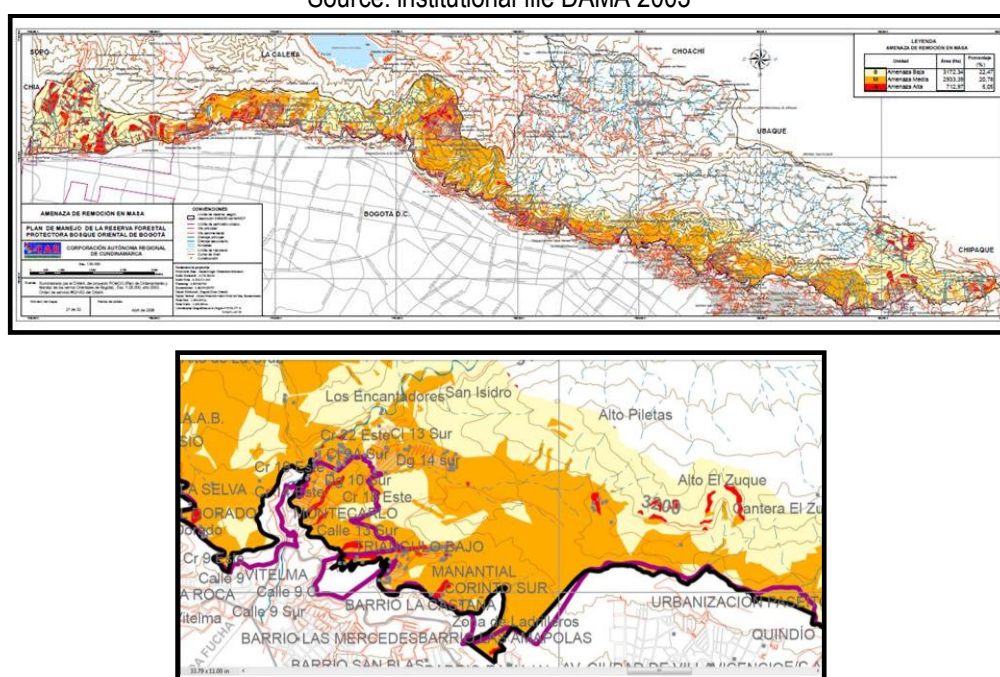
This territory, as an informal settlement, has experienced its inhabitant's historical struggle to legalise it and access basic public services such as sewage system, electricity, and telephone lines. They cite State neglect as the reason why they have developed strategies from illegality to get these services and give them a legal status. They do all this because, as they explained, mainly the adults and the elderly love this place for its landscape, calm, views of the city; many have been born here or have lived here since they were very young; they feel a great attachment to the place and their houses for the memories of their lives and their families in them captured.

On their part, the young do not share these feelings since they think that the neighbourhood, as their lives, has no future; many live in poverty, with family conflict and they would prefer to leave as many others have already done. They do not like living so far and not counting on transport means that will take them to their homes. Some have been so affected that they have committed suicide in Triángulo Alto and Manantial. Some adults and senior citizens share this view, mainly due to health issues that prevent them from going up the hill on foot. In addition, there are conflicts between the territory's inhabitants; for example, a few have issues with the so called 'invaders', generating damaging tension as they fight over land occupation and legitimate possession. These conflicts have reached extreme situations where relatives and acquaintances have lost their lives, causing 'hopelessness', 'sadness', 'lack of a sense of community' and 'increased hatred' between inhabitants from the different neighbourhoods. A 'neighbourhood identity' based on hating the other (from the other neighbourhood) continues to strengthen, increasing separation between neighbourhoods even though they would prefer not to have to face it any more.

Simultaneously, while all this historical process was happening in this territory, environmental problems began to positioning in the panorama of Bogotá planning, became more acute in 2000, affecting Triángulo's history. A legal 'Frankenstein' constituted by several legal instruments related to the hills started to emerge. In 1977, the judicial resolution 76 was approved due to increased urban expansion pressure in this zone, derived from processes of informal occupation. This resolution created the Forest Reserve Protective of Western Forest of Bogotá, prohibiting its urban development for the purpose of protecting ecosystem services (García et.al 2015).

In 2000, the POT (decree 619) was adopted by the municipal government, ratifying the existence of the Forest Reserve and it was included in the system of protected areas of the city, which is part of the Principal Ecological Structure of Bogotá. This belongs to a set of new urban planning policies aimed at developing biodiverse and sustainable cities in order to solve ecological and social problems. On the other hand, in 2003 the district government began a programme of relocating informal settlements of which the majority were suburbs. Since then, Triángulo became part of this programme that was implemented by the current District Institute of Risk Management and Climate Change (Instituto Distrital de Gestión de Riesgos y Cambio Climático - IDIGER). This happened under the argument that they were located in a territory with few small zones of low and medium risk but mainly with large unmitigable high risk areas, associated to probability of landslide and movements of land mass (See figure 8).

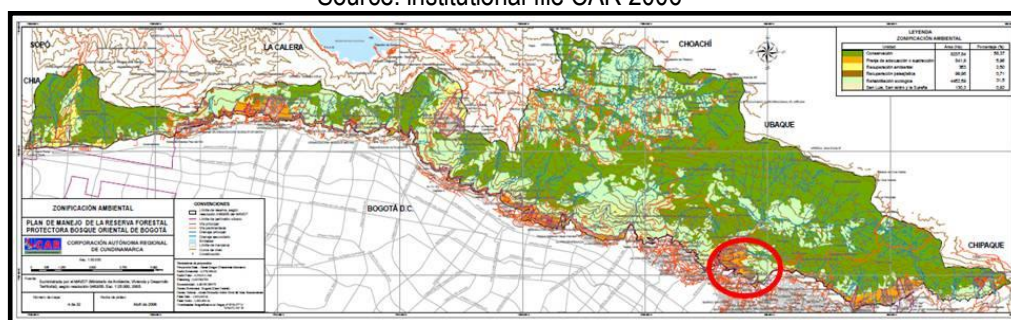
Figure 8. Risk map and Triángulo territory zoom
Source: institutional file DAMA 2003



In 2004, decree 190 confirmed that the urban perimeter within the reserve limits met the established limits in the judicial resolution 76. However, it was later observed by government officials that in practice there were still informal occupations outside the urban perimeter, as well as natural resources extraction and constructions by private agents. Consequently, in 2005 the Ministry of Environment created the Adjustment Strip by means of judicial resolution 463 establishing reserve's borders, subtracting the areas occupied by neighbourhoods and defining a zone of public primary occupation and another one of urban limit consolidation (where the neighbourhoods that had not been legalised should be to

authorise district investment). Thus, nearly 90% of Triángulo was included in the adjustment strip and the remaining 10% turned to be part of the reserve (See figure 9). As a result, a process of legalisation began including the four neighbourhoods of el Triángulo (Government officials, pc, 24/10/12; 31/10/12; 01/11/12; 05/01/13).

Figure 9. Map of Resolution 463 produced by the Ministry of the Environment. Triángulo territory was located within the red circle
Source: institutional file CAR 2006



In 2006, Sonia Ramírez filed a lawsuit against Judicial resolution 463 arguing that it gave 50% of non-occupied green zones to builders, generating an ecological and social disaster for the city due to destruction of woods on the eastern hills, exploitation of mining resources and risks of eviction posed to settlers from informal settlements. Moreover, problems with the demarcation shown in the adjustment strip map were observed in land because half of a house was in the strip and the other in the reserve. Therefore, the Court of Cundinamarca nulled the judicial resolution 463 and passed a final judgement, which was appealed by the Ministry of Environment, CAR and the District. The sentence was thus suspended by the Court of Cundinamarca as a precautionary measure while the State Council, as the administrative highest government advisory body, assumed and resolved the case. Consequently, the process of legalisation of Triángulo was interrupted and the whole land became part of the forest reserve again, staying in judicial limbo (Catalina, government official, pc, 01/11/12). This limbo implied that there was not a clear definition of its judicial condition in the land. As a result, any building, improvement or public investment was banned.

Meanwhile, the resettlement programme continued and most inhabitants disagreed, as they were being taken to areas located far from the centre to live in 60m² houses, tiny houses for families of 10 or more people. The prospect of relocation also meant that the inhabitants of the area would become tenants instead of owners, and re – located, in some cases, in stratum 2 where utility bills were more expensive. Hence, they were not able to pay the utility bills, and that, in turn, affected their quality of life. On the other hand, regarding their

knowledge of local issues, their territory did not meet the standards of cataloguing of land risk they were given. Hence, in 2009, a geological study, carried out and funded by CINEP, with the technical support of Ingercivil LTDA, ratified dwellers' assessment that not most part of the area was under unmitigable high risk, as the IDIGER had been stating - except for Corinto. IDIGER had technically classified Corinto as an area of unmitigable high risk since 2003 and it had suffered landslides that led to its resettlement and demolition in 2009 (Photo 28). The geological study also concluded that there are several zones of low and medium risk that could be used for an in situ resettlement.

Photo 28. Corinto after resettlement and demolishing
Source: personal file Ome 2012





In that scenario (in 2009) the inhabitants of Triángulo territory created the Ecobarrios proposal as a resistance strategy in order to avoid resettlement and as a mechanism to rebuild the social fabric and cohesion. Over the years, Héctor Álvarez has been *Ecobarrios* main promoter; he is one of the community leaders who lives in Manantial and that's why I decided to quote him.

“The Ecobarrios proposal emerges as a way of resistance to the process of resettlement and allocation of risk ignoring the community identity and their relation with the territory, among other things, that had been happening since 2003. The resettlement process, which excluded us from the right of the city and dignified housing, did not take into account how neighbours were affected having to pay for a new, unknown place, with no institutional support for financial, social and cultural inclusion, and left them at their own mercy. The actions carried out were also aimed at recovering the territory that was in hands of external individuals. The community felt that they were being displaced from the territory without proper micro-zoning for risk management with citizen participation with the objective of decreasing the physical vulnerability of the territory.

In 2005, actions began within the framework of a process by the Environmental Board of Eastern Hills, which neighbourhood leaders joined. The tables are participatory mechanisms created by citizens and communities to consider the social and environmental conflicts at the level of the territory, defined as a geographical, bio-physical and social space (different to the locality level). The Table of the Eastern Hills, strong and important “social process” recognised and appreciated today by the district, was established in 2005 by the Hills

historical dwellers, who were mostly leaders of grass-roots organisations located there. Over time, the table has been fed by different social agents, representatives of the academia, NGOs and local politicians, with the aim of constructing an inclusive, fair and supportive model of city.

The proposal received insight from this space. Later, in the territory, a management team was created. We have been working with them even though members have changed.

Our aim is to design a model of occupation for the eastern hills. It's a pilot model that attempts to build up an Ecobarrios network for local sustainable development of a dignifying habitat in the localities of the hills and it stemmed from a pact of border (pacto de borde in Spanish) between the inhabitants and the national, regional and district authorities.

As part of this work in 2010 we published something with CINEP, Catalan Agency of International Cooperation (ACCD) and OXFAM entitled "Thinking about Ecobarrios from a Grassroots Perspective" (Hector, pc, 14/07/09; 17/04/12; 26/10/12)

As the Ecobarrio was being implemented in 2010 and 2012, the current IDIGER designed a series of maps in which low risk disappeared and the territory was institutionally identified mostly as an area of unmitigable high risk and less at medium risk (See Figure 10 and 11).

Figure 10. Risk map – Triángulo territory
Source: institutional file FOPAE 2010

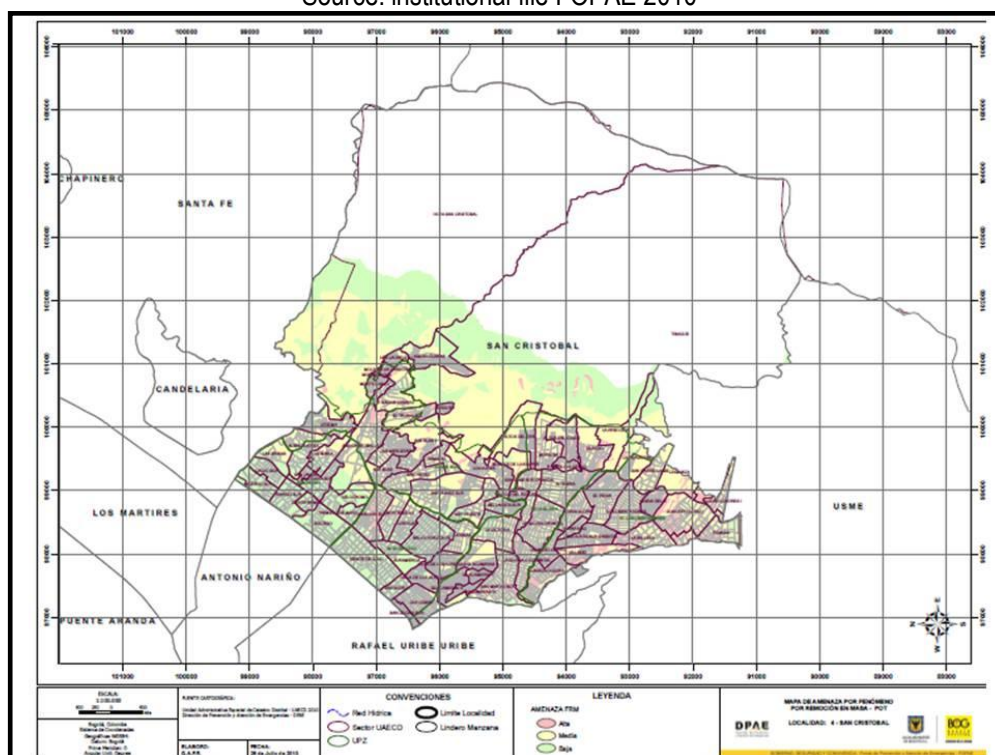
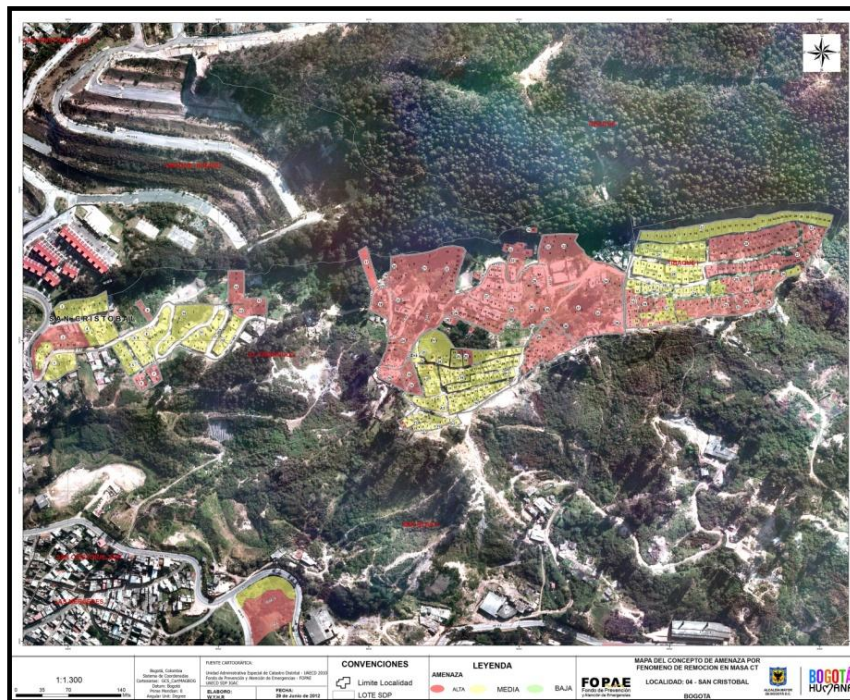




Figure 11. Risk map produced by IDIGER
Source: institutional file FOPAE 2012



Meanwhile, local inhabitants continued to express their dissatisfaction with the area's new risk assessment, arguing that those maps were designed ignoring the reality on the ground. According to their narratives (and to what was discussed in the mapping workshop that I ran in Bogotá in 2012, which is something I will write about later in section 7.1), these maps failed to engage with the particularities of risk within that territory or how people actually mitigate risk to be able to live on the slopes. The maps homogenised the experience of risk, painting the area with big blotches of red. Moreover, both maps avoid an adjacent patch of land (The residential area el Yuste) taken over by developers in 2007, which saw hill excavation and construction of several six-storey high buildings.

Later, in 2012, just when I got to the field, Ecobarrios were included in the city's development plan "Bogotá Humana 2012 – 2016" as part of its second objective, namely to promote: "...a territory that faces climate variability and gets organised around water".

Officials, as well as inhabitants of the hills, explained to me that this happened due to a series of factors in that time's context. Gustavo Petro, the new Mayor elected that year, belonged to the progressive movement (left-wing party) whose ideological foundations were social democracy, eco-socialism, progressivism and ecology. As a party, they defended the democratic programme that encourages citizen direct participation in political decisions, recognition of social rights and guarantees for the exercise of political struggle (2013).

Many of the new administration officials had been part of the Environmental Board of Eastern Hills and/or lived in there; thus, they knew their problems. Their political willingness in conjunction with board leaders' management like Héctor and other city social processes such as, the wetlands committee, urban agriculture network and community aqueduct network, led to the inclusion of Ecobarrios in the new development plan. This plan, unlike previous ones, sought to encourage green densification and without segregation (with more accessibility for popular sectors), preparing the compact city to face and adapt to climate change, acknowledging in their three main axes the human being as the centre of development and water as the territory organiser. Hence, with the plan it is accepted the challenge of proposing a model of urban development based on environmental sustainability, reaffirming the importance of the relationship between human beings and nature/environment/natural resources and solution for social and environmental conflicts, like the one in the hills. Thus, through the plan it is proposed the construction of policies about territorial planning, comprehensive risk management (avoiding resettlement) and consolidation of borders to face climate change with direct influence from resilient communities. Their proposals, such as Ecobarrios, are now recognised as sustainable models of occupation of the borders (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2012; Catalina, pc, 01/11/12).

It is interesting to observe how an opportunity arises with a development plan containing a clear environmental and sustainable focus, influenced by ecological modernisation, sustainable development and some NPM (focusing on the dynamics of domestic markets for those socially excluded). Furthermore, for the first time, through the plan the Mayor implemented participatory budgets as part of the promotion of democratic, participative and community governance. Unlike Mockus's administration, this management is not so paternalising or expert –led, but it politicises and, because of its own progressive nature, this management seeks to give people direct participation taking into account the local knowledge.

Between 2002 and 2015 I have found a series of unexpected events that had not been considered in my earlier contextualisation. I would like to mention some I was able to witness and on which I conducted ethnographic studies because I was in the field and I considered essential to understand the research problem.

Institutional Ecobarrios Roundtable (since July 2012) was a mechanism created in order to achieve the development plan goal related with Ecobarrios. Therefore, the participants tasks were to develop an Ecobarrios meaning and plan implementation of pilots in vulnerable and informal areas of the city - Triángulo was considered as one of the areas that could be selected. The institutions involved were Habitat, Planning, Environment and Health Secretaries of Bogotá, IDIGER, CAR, Aqueduct and the community. Carlos Rojas who was in charge of Ecobarrios programme between 2001 and 2003 also attended. Attending allowed me to acquire a more comprehensive picture of what Mockus' programme was, what it proposed with regards to Triángulo's Ecobarrio and the expectations held by Petro's administration for this programme in the city.

Pre-councils (pre-cabildos) and Councils (cabildos) (August 2012) were participatory mechanisms developed in all the UPZ (104 in total). Their objective was to promote citizens participation in getting to know and debate the development plan and generate proposals on concerted modifications. In water and eastern hills councils, Ecobarrios was included as a component to be considered in participatory budgets. Attending allowed me to observe how some residents from Triángulo presented their Ecobarrio proposal discursively and collectively in front of different city agencies. I could also analyse Hector's role, his discourse and actions related with Ecobarrios.

Historical reconstruction exercise for Manantial, Triángulo and Corinto (August - October 2012). The Habitat Secretary of Bogotá carried out meetings with the community and mapping exercises with the objective of producing an instrument that would contribute to their territory appropriation process and development of the First Environmental Network of Risk Managers. Hence, a risk awareness raising programme was developed with the community, aiming at micro-zoning risk with their participation. Thus, Habitat Secretary of Bogotá and the IDIGER implemented Risk Schools where people received information about risk and how to mitigate it in their territory. Attending these activities enabled me to complement the territory's historical collective and individual reconstruction from testimonies by those present. Likewise, it allowed for a deeper understanding of risk, its conflicts and contrasts from the different perspectives of inhabitants and institutions.

Villa Rosita case: in 2011 Elizabeth, Villa Rosita's leader (neighbourhood from Usme locality) and who had participated in Ecobarrios and the ESPERE programme, suggested a new Ecobarrio programme to CAR. She and Alice from CAR implemented this participatory project within the framework of new habitability alternatives for the city's border. I interviewed Elizabeth and Alice to find out how it had emerged, what it aimed to achieve and whether it related to either of my case studies. I was able to better understand the programme's reach in the city and how differently it continued to be replicated, not only in Triángulo, but also in this territory.

Eastern Hills Roundtable and Mobilisation: The roundtable has led to important collective actions like demonstrations, open discussions, forums, seminars and expeditions to the Hills, aimed at dealing with environmental conflicts in the popular territories. One of the objectives is to generate proposals that are sustainable, participative (in the decision making) and harmonic, not anthropocentric, with nature (with the living organism of Gaia), through collective coexistence agreements. The proposals deal with topics like a decent habitat, holistic risk management, pacts of borders, Ecobarrios, environmental education, etc. Therefore, the inhabitants of the hills feel excluded of the city; abandoned by the State; segregated due to fragmented development and ordering processes; parts of a complex process of urbanisation and eviction of the borders of the city that follows a market rationale and consultation on social processes or respect for their rights are non-existent.

Consequently, for many of them, mostly peasants, the Hills depict a scenario of confrontation over land use between the private sector, institutions and community. However, for them the Hills are also the lungs of the city, are life, cultural identity and natural heritage. For that reason, their fight is for the defence of the territory's visibility; their desire to be recognised as protagonists in participative democracy. As a result, from the locality policy (as they call it) as ecological politics, they demand to be agents with a leading role in the planning processes at district and national level, as well as in real social cartography. According to the mapmaking for Resolution 463, they do not exist.(Mesa Ambiental de Cerros Orientales 2008; Rangel 2013).

I attended some meetings of this roundtable in order to gain a broader view of the hills' context from the inhabitants' perspective; also because it was an important activity in Hector's life, associated with his struggle and the Ecobarrio. Also, I went to a peaceful demonstration in October 2012 by inhabitants of the eastern hills led by members of the table. Their objective was to require the Council State to solve the hills' legal issue and let them stay in their territories through local proposals, such as Ecobarrios (Photo 29).

Witnessing this event provided me with better understanding of the Ecobarrios proposal's collective nature for some Triángulo inhabitants; how they appropriated and represented it to the hills inhabitants and the city to demand their rights in peaceful mobilisation scenarios. I could also see Hector as activist leader, demonstrating for his ideals, in another significant scene of his life.

Photo 29. Demonstration by the inhabitants of the Eastern hills – Bogotá
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Lastly, in 2013 the Council State pronounced the sentence ratifying resolution 463's zoning and ordering the elaboration of management plans for protected areas and adjustment strip. Also the sentence authorised the legalisation of the missing neighbourhoods and approved the resettlement of those who were at unmitigable high risk. People did not know what would happen to Triángulo's land because there was political willingness during Petro mandate (2012 -2015) to permit resettlement in situ in those zones where the community

considers there is no risk. Finally, in March 2015 it was confirmed that one of the hills management plan objectives is for all neighbourhoods to become Ecobarrios (Téllez 2015).

There is still much to be said about the history of this territory, according to what people told me. Nevertheless, I attempted to make a summary that gives an account of such territory's particularities and complexity in order to understand how a proposal like Ecobarrios in this scenario emerges; why, from whom, and how it starts to travel (through different places) and involve different agents. Regarding expectations for the future of Ecobarrios, some Triángulo dwellers shared the following views:

"Progress is evident. Before, we were characterised by high degrees of poverty, marginalisation, without a district or local recognition. We used to be a territory of antisocial people, invaders. We did not have access to justice. We were pointed as generators of negative environmental impacts, at unmitigable high risk, and also, occupying the protective forest reserve. We have created not only a model of alternative development, but also an alternative proposal to the city's model. We have better visibility and support from district institutions. We managed to catch the eye of the city and of many citizens, of the academia (universities), the attention at a national and international level, and most of all, of our community who live in the territory of Ecobarrios.

Looking ahead, we hope to be a model, a referent for the social construction on the eastern hills and borders of city, with citizen participation and dignity. We don't want a perfect neighbourhood. We only want better people, who respect human rights, who live community life, responsible for the territory; human beings in the Ecobarrio with a high level of spirituality; when people talk about Ecobarrios, they talk about a sustainable neighbourhood with people who made a pact of border and came to an agreement with the city and District to look after the eastern hills. Conditions are given, on the one hand, because of the will of the District and its secretariats, and on the other hand, the community organisation which supports the proposal. We will see what happens with Penalosa's new mandate." (Héctor, pc, 18/12/12; 03/01/13)

6.3 Ecobarrios narratives of a local initiative from people's perspective

After a brief review of the context in which Ecobarrios arose, I now turn to explore the discourses underpinning this grassroots proposal. In order to do so, I examine the few documents that the inhabitants produced about it and mainly the ethnographic interviews. As in the analysis of Lombardía (Chapter 5) the intention is to trace and de-construct the discursive practices that characterised this initiative. Furthermore, the purpose with this section is to unpack the initiative itself in order to understand what the inhabitants are proposing and how they really define an Ecobarrio: what does it mean to be an Ecobarrio?

6.3.1 Ecobarrios and eco-political subjects and identities behind the written word

As I explained before, this initiative was mainly described in a published document titled: 'Thinking about Ecobarrios from a grassroots perspective' ('Pensando en Ecobarrios desde

los Sectores Populares”) whose author was Héctor Álvarez. He wrote the document taking into account all the work that they were doing with the leaders (men and women) of the neighbourhoods. The text was published by OXFAM, ACCD and CINEP (Photo 30), and its conception of an Ecobarrio was also disseminated through other documents and visual representations (Photo 31).

Photo 30. Ecobarrios Document
Source: personal file Ome 2012

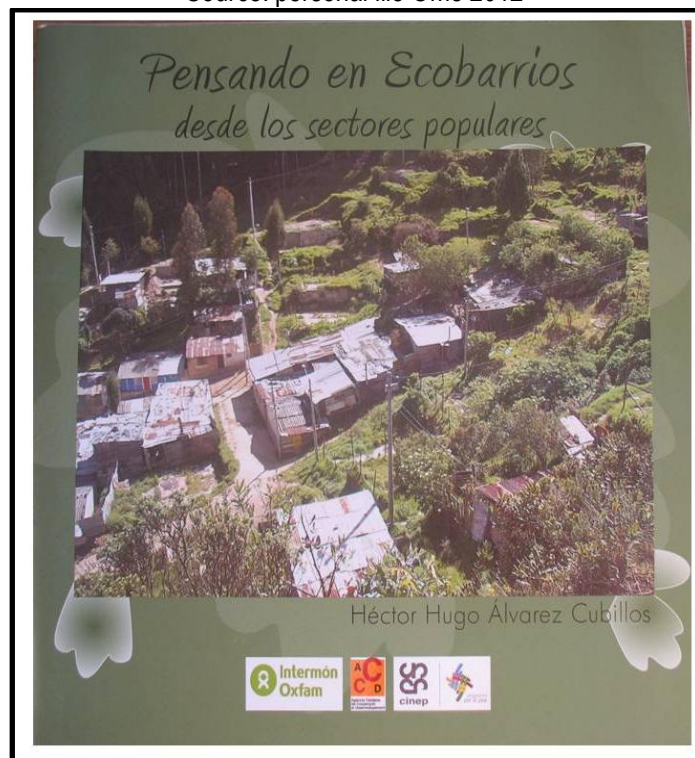
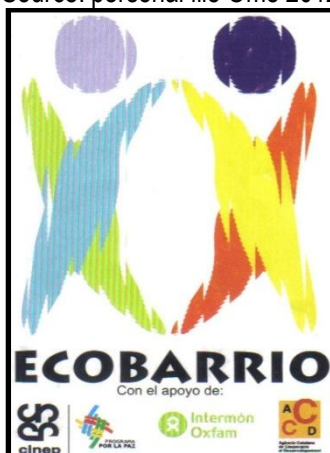


Photo 31. Ecobarrio Sticker
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Hector explained the following about the sticker (photo 31):

“...the person in blue and green represents the human being in harmony with the environment and the territory with specific regulations like the pact of borders, represented by the other person in the other colours of the district's flag... it means we can't go against the rules, but we can transform them.” (Hector, pc, 31/05/12)

Ecobarrios is then shown as a proposal/model created by Marco Pedraza (CINEP), Rubén Becerra (leader of Triángulo Alto) and Héctor, and arises:

“...as a result of the absence of State and district institutions...since the market is seen as the one in charge of solving problems ...due to a resettlement policy that features big gaps when it comes to divesting people of their land, and seeks to contribute to such a policy, to planning management of the adjustment strip, among others, so that now and in the future, communities find ways of creating scenarios along with the Government, that will provide feasible solutions, which in turn will give new meaning to good living, leading to harmonic inclusion in the city.” (Álvarez 2010:53).

“Ecobarrios is shown as an alternative to development, as a citizens strategy to have the right to the city, to life, to decent housing and to identity with community participation, under the sustainable and cities in solidarity discourse...as an action of purposeful resistance, by dwellers of popular sectors, facing resettlement programmes and/or policies of hills rearrangement, which don't recognise the community identity and their relationship with the territory...” (Álvarez 2010:15).

Participants explain that the strategy's creation involved Ecovillages and Ecobarrios philosophy and precedents at a national-city level (Mockus programme) and at international-city level (Eco-city of Halifax), which were adopted and adapted to Bogotá's context. In addition, diverse local and expert knowledge was taken into account that at times contradicted each other but in the end resulted in new knowledge in order to feed the strategy mentioned above. For instance, from Ecourbanism, the idea that environmental problems, responsible for ecological destruction, have to be solved in the cities was taken into account. Hector understands Eco urbanism as: “...the relationship between ecology and technology to achieve sustainable urban development that fosters harmony among design, urban planning and human activities disciplines. Its objectives are the design, development and management of sustainable communities.” (Álvarez 2010:14). Hector explained that he got to these perspectives since when he started designing the proposal, he read about Ecobarrios and other related topics and found them useful and coherent with what they sought to achieve.

Consequently, Ecobarrios is presented as an alternative in which development of the city - region is a political matter, involving citizens' participation and a direct relationship with the territory. It is shown as a proposal that allows dwellers from the peripheries, hills or mountains, gulches, wetlands, zones destined to urban renovation or resettlement, to

occupy and stay in the territory exercising their sovereignty, with dignity, and in peace. All of the above require concerted management of the conflict by private, institutional and community agents (Álvarez 2010).

Ecobarrios was then defined as:

“...a group or community that with a long term vision get organised in order to improve their quality of life and to achieve their social and environmental welfare in harmony with the environment in a sustainable urban context...these neighbourhoods and territories should be based on social relations that acknowledge diversity, the sustainable use of renewable energies and the development of harmonic relations between citizens and nature.” (Álvarez 2010: 15)

In this case, the so called Ecobarrios are made up of three dimensions that can be seen in a greater or lesser degree depending on their context. The first and most important one is the Eco-human dimension stating that the functioning of Ecobarrios is based on “...the generation of cultivated human relationships which are sustainable, harmonic with the environment, the territory and region, when it comes to the construction of social and political subject,...whose foundations are coexistence, participation and problem solving, aimed at community construction, acknowledging differences” (Álvarez 2010:17) (Photo 32).

Photo 32. Poster drawn by the Community
Source: personal file Álvarez 2009



This dimension addresses topics, such as: subjects, community, eco-society, citizens and family and neighbourhood life, in the city, region, country and the world. The objectives are constructing more human relationships, which are ‘supportive’, ‘honest’, less troublesome, and based on respect and acknowledgement of human rights (discursive objects and categories). The idea is “constructing individuals and an ecological community ecologically aware, sensitive to the territory and other human beings to develop an ecological city where there is a balance between humans and nature” (Álvarez 2010:14) and the ecological

development is based on strategies such as “genuine community participation, and social equality in economic systems” (Álvarez 2010:16).

Furthermore, ‘construction of people as subjects and part of collectives’ (discursive objects) in the Ecobarrio is associated with the construction of ‘democracy and identity’ (discursive categories). This implies the construction of State as a pact of citizens, involving ‘problem solving processes, management of violence, encouragement of values (freedom, justice, and equality), education, creation and strengthening of social organisations’ (discursive strategies).

Ecobarrio, as an identity factor or an identity derived from it, can be said to be related to the construction of community based on common values, with respect for life, the environment, natural resources and common property. In addition, it implies the development of the ‘sense of place and belonging’, for instance, as urban dwellers of the Eastern hills. Therefore, the idea is:

“...to generate knowledge, learning processes, exchange of knowledge and cultural negotiations in order to respond to eco-human sustainable relationships. That is to say, mind and consciousness working together towards an eco-relationship among human beings and with other species. knowledge of life in the city. Knowing to live in the city to make life grow and not the dominating economy.” (Álvarez 2010:30)

The objective is then to generate an ‘environmental culture’ (discursive category) as a basis of life in the city through practices in neighbourhoods, such as: education, awareness, building of cultural centres, training of support networks and enhancement of team groups, etc.

The second dimension is Eco-environmental. According to Álvarez (2010) this dimension:

“...conceives cities as eco-system complexes, where there is a close relationship between the human, the environment, the territory as a social construction and the productive relations to make quality of life sustainable through equal access to natural resources and reduction of environmental damage”. (Álvarez 2010:13)

This dimension addresses aspects like: ‘environmental education’ (preservation), ‘healthy environment and habitat’ (discursive strategies) in order to observe the relation ‘human species’, ‘nature’, ‘society’ and ‘culture’ (discursive categories) and understand how they live together and make sense in the territory, emphasising that Ecobarrios becomes a lifestyle (Photo 33) and is made up of activities such as: home growing orchards, reforestation, construction of parks, restoration of natural areas, as well as risk micro zoning with institutional support, and acknowledging local knowledge, with the aim to achieve an

ecological conservation, land use and risk management. It also covers recycling, dry toilets, use of rainwater, collection of fresh water by ecological means in order to save water. It promotes use of sources of renewable energy through solar panels to save energy. To build homes it recommends using recycling materials or traditional domestic techniques (adobe) as alternatives to risk, cement and brick, imposed by market. Lastly, it proposes composting and recycling for solid waste management.

Photo 33. Poster drawn by the Community
Source: personal file Álvarez 2009



The third dimension is the economic one. In this dimension, economic development takes on a new meaning. It is not seen as an exploitation of resources and growth of capital, but as:

“...strengthening the relationships among subjects, societies and natural heritage so that life is sustainable and generates the necessary transformations for good living, within the limits and conditions that nature has and the relations established in it.” (Álvarez 2010:20)

The functioning of these neighbourhoods is then based on ‘savings and efficiency of basic resources’ (discursive strategies) through the different actions, which generate sustainability (within the territory and of the territory) of ‘production and responsible consumption’ (discursive objects). Such actions are eco-tourism, urban agriculture, recycling, sustainable industries, plants production, food, handicrafts and diverse productive alternatives to exchange and sell (Photo 34).

Photo 34. Poster drawn by the Community
Source: personal file Álvarez 2009



The idea was that these sustainable economic practices should work together with symbolic production systems to link culture, the social system and economic systems. This, in turn, was expected to enable knowledge exchanges (local, academic and technical) and encourage an open classroom in the hills with learning spaces, empowering male and female leaders and peasants, aware of processes, to connect these communities as a productive sector in the city (Álvarez 2010).

At the end, the document clarifies that not all dwellers want to stay in the neighbourhood because they are interested in the resettlement programmes. For this reason, the proposal emerges from those neighbours, families and friends who have become fond of the territory and want to stay.

Below, I present a discursive deconstruction of this written proposal from, the space of local knowledge, of daily life (but connected to the space of spatial practices also influenced by technical knowledges), to the creation of an Ecobarrio in this territory. Unlike Mockus' programme, this case made evident (as per the document's title) that this proposal emerged from popular sectors within the social process of the Eastern Hills Roundtable.

More precisely, in this case the Ecobarrio was created as a response to the absence and neglect by the State and district institutions, to the dynamics of market and, more specifically, to resettlement policies and risk definition and management. Therefore, the Ecobarrio was proposed as an 'alternative to development' (discursive object), as an action of purposeful resistance and 'a citizens strategy to the right to the city' (discursive object). This sustainable alternative, represented by discursive categories, objects and strategies, was politically conceived and related in a participatory manner with the territory. Also, through the Ecobarrio, it was intended to achieve inclusion in the city applying approaches like good living, the sustainable and supportive city, eco-urbanism, eco villages, Ecobarrios, and eco-cities.

Through an observation of the process it can be seen how “the protest becomes a proposal” (Álvarez 2010:52), which seeks ‘alternative ways to the dominant system’ (discursive object), to categories and technologies like the one about risk, introduced by strands of market-led¹⁰⁹ (Beck 2008), but without leaving the system (regulations). Also, it shows the influence from different perspectives of planning and of the environmental discursive formation such as environmentalism of the poor¹¹⁰, alternative holism, green romanticism, green rationalism, eco-sustainable modernity and ecological modernisation. Álvarez (2010) warns us about all that but he does not go deep into it. Therefore, this Ecobarrios proposal can be labelled as hybrid, probably as part of the same counter-discursive strategy of purposeful resistance action. According to authors like Palacio and Ulloa (2002), Leff (2011) and Escobar (2014a), among others, the different environmental social responses (actions of resistance, social movements and processes) develop different discursive and political strategies, according to their own interests, local knowledge and particular contexts, as it was observed for Ecobarrios case.

Regarding planning, in general terms it can be said that there are similarities with Ecobarrios programme, such as the discursive influence of approaches like eco-city planning, sustainability, NPM, but mostly from the post-modern - progressive approach. In a scenario where urbanisation/spatialisation of injustice is recognised by the inhabitants of Triángulo, planning involving voices and interests from all agents is proposed, by means of processes which are ‘active’, ‘democratic’ and ‘inclusive’ (discursive categories) given under the right to the city. What is more, this grassroots conception of Ecobarrios argues that such processes should enable a ‘collective construction and occupation of the territory and the city’ (discursive object), which is sovereign, decent and in peace with nature, and places emphasis on the ‘concerted management of conflict in order to solve inequalities and to empower the disempowered’ (discursive object) (Sandercock 1998; Purcell 2003; Levy 2010b).

The hybrid trait of this proposal can still be seen in the concept given to Ecobarrio. As it was mentioned before, in order to define it, ideas from the approach of Ecovillages were

¹⁰⁹ Authors like Beck (2008), Salcedo and Zeiderman (2008) and Leff (2010), explain how risk becomes a government rationale and technology during the twentieth century, by means of a series of policies and programmes. This happens as part of neoliberal governmentality that seeks to implement new prevention and care practices to face an unknown future of possible chaos and catastrophes which may cause unease.

¹¹⁰ Defined as one strand of environmentalisms by Martínez (2002), and also called popular environmentalism in the global south and environmental justice movement in the US. This operating current points out that economic growth means increased environmental impacts, and it emphasises geographical displacement of sources and sinks. Moreover, it points out that indigenous and peasant groups have often coevolved sustainably with nature. In the third world this current is associated with the myriad of movements that against the impacts that threaten poor people who are in many countries a majority of the population. This current is growing worldwide emphasising inevitable ecological distribution conflicts (Martínez 2002).

considered, but basically the same definition from the Mockus programme was adopted in the Ecobarrios document produced by the residents of Triángulo. However, as this grassroots conception of what an Ecobarrio is arose from a conflict over land use, there is a more conscious connection with the social construction of the territory and place making process. This is interesting to the extent that it gives an account of the different ways a label like Ecobarrios can travel and be adopted by people depending on their specific needs, interests and worldviews. For instance, Triángulo's case may also be interpreted from an instrumental approach to resist relocation, taking into account its defence of the territory and place.

The foregoing is clear when we analyse the Ecobarrio dimensions, which are interrelated. Regarding the eco-human dimension, we can clearly observe that there is an explicit and emphatic strategic discursive intention of creating individual and collective subjects who are literally social and political. The latter will be evident as long as individuals actively and democratically participate as citizens in the city's planning and decision making and in the construction of State. Also, they are political subjects inasmuch as they participate in problem solving from the family level to the global one, establishing pacts between citizens, for the purpose of claiming rights and encouraging social organisations creation and leaders empowerment. Just as academic and technical agents, individuals have local, traditional and cultural knowledge (peasants, indigenous people, African-Americans) that allows them to participate in these scenarios of decision and power construction. This can be understood as a counter-discursive strategy where the same categories as the ontology of modernity - neoliberal (state-academic-technical) are used. The strategy uses the concepts of subject and active citizens with political participation¹¹¹, but it gives them a new definition influenced by progressive approaches, among others. This enables Triángulo's inhabitants to use the same language as those in the government, who are part of the modern - neoliberal system so that they can be understood albeit re-defining their categories from theoretical approaches that promote that all voices may be truly heard and taken into account to exert true participative governance.

All of the above is developed by Triángulo inhabitants with the aim of being included in the system (structure) and eventually recognised, and thus being able to act and be treated as

¹¹¹ The definition of this new citizenship started in the 90s in Latin American countries where movements and social processes are searching for and enhancing cultural transformations towards democratisation of everyday life. Such citizenship implies the construction of active social individuals, political agents of new subjectivities, and therefore, equal social relationships, recognising the other as an individual with legitimate rights and valid interests. That is different from being a passive citizen in a state of paternalistic welfare whose mainstays are reduction of poverty, protection of people facing socio-economic uncertainties, and guaranteeing basic rights, exercising a representative democracy (Escobar et.al 2001; Bolívar 2006).

subjects (individual and collective) – citizens with social, civil and political rights (like housing, electricity, water, etc.). Thus, Triángulo inhabitants will be able to attempt to find a solution, a concerted alternative to face the consequences of their denomination, discursive and practical representation (that makes part of their everyday life) as ‘marginal’, ‘excluded’ and ‘segregated’, which have made them feel abandoned by the State, and live the consequences of social inequality (Escobar 1999; Bolívar 2006).

Nevertheless, those subjects from the Ecobarrio must be constructed as political and ecological, as stated in the document, indicating that they have to constitute themselves into individuals and communities with ecological (of species)/environmental awareness that implies a ‘sensitivity and respect for other living beings and the territory’ (discursive object). Moreover, they have to undertake a series of ecological practices, such as monitoring their electricity consumption, creating regulations in accordance with ecological ethics that influence their lifestyle (Leff 2011).

In addition, according to what some of the inhabitants said in the Ecobarrios document, they need to develop or strengthen a ‘place-based identity’ (discursive category) associated with Ecobarrios as urban dwellers of the Eastern Hills, which not only implies living in a healthy environment, but also knowing ‘how to live in community, applying values in family and neighbourhood coexistence, and appreciating the exchange of knowledge to live in the city developing an environmental culture’ (discursive objects and strategies). The idea is to create an ‘eco-society’, ‘an ecological and sustainable city’, and foster an ‘ecological development’ (discursive category) that ‘encompasses harmony and balance between men and nature/environment’ (discursive object). Consequently, there will be economic systems that promote social equality and equal access to natural resources and ecological actions like urban agriculture, recycling, and so on; all based on popular knowledge.

This way, the discursive hybridisation of this Ecobarrios proposal is once again observed. For instance, the discursive category of ‘nature’ is exchanged with that of ‘environment’ indistinctively, and ‘natural resources’ are mentioned when aiming to encourage an equal access and an efficient use of them. The foregoing is part of the dynamics of production and now responsible consumption, as it is found in the redefined economic dimension. The latter gives an account, on the one hand, of the fact that it does not imply an anthropocentric approach towards ‘nature’, like modern rationality, but instead both the ethnocentric and eco-centric approaches merge for the purpose of providing an alternative to the former. On the other hand, awareness is defined by a species associated with the planet’s current situation and social problems faced, such as climate change, in an attempt to overcome the

disconnection we have with nature and other living beings. Additionally, the latter allows us to reflect on the relationship man-nature, as it has been expressed by perspectives derived from alternative holism, aimed at redefining the market dynamics and promote sustainable, efficient and equal economic practices as is expressed by ecological modernisation.

However, in this Ecobarrios proposal it simultaneously emphasises that there is species awareness. It does not imply cultural equalisation, as there are various collective hybrid identities linked to different traditional knowledge (peasants, indigenous people, African-Americans), inhabiting places –urban hybrid territories that need to be recognised and respected (Escobar 2008).

The above shows that moving from protest to proposal implied the development of a counter discursive strategy, offering an alternative to the system from the inside. The latter implied the use of some of the system discursive categories (institutional, academic, ontological – resulting from expert knowledge) but not with its own concepts. This aimed to provide a concerted solution and have a decent life in the city (the narratives in the following section can clarify that point.) One of the discursive categories that Triángulo inhabitants used is identity, which although ordinary for many people, it is an imposed category derived from the formation of the nation State. In this case it emphasises on the identity relationship with the territory to strengthen its sense of belonging and prevent eviction.

Place – territory – neighbourhoods play a crucial role associated with the construction of primarily eco-political and hybrid subjects. In this case, they refer to the Eastern Hills where the territory of Triángulo and/or the neighbourhoods Manantial, Triángulo Bajo and Alto (which are the same place for the dwellers, according to the document) are located. Thus, the Eastern Hills become a spatial-physical referent of the ecological, environmental and political aspects of this proposal and of the (individual and collective) subjects and identities proposed. These peri-urban hills and territories' (spaces perceived differently by each actor) whose institutional representation (as institutional conceived space) as zones of forest reserve, adjustment strip, and in some cases like this- informal settlements¹¹², are questioned and transformed. The latter through this type of proposals that invest them with a new meaning, including them as referents of the place where inhabitants fight, and do their political actions . These actions are done to gain recognition of their historical permanence.

¹¹² Informality associated with the house building illegality, which has had two expressions: "...invasion and fake urbanisation. The former is characterised by illegal and arbitrary occupation of lands in peripheral areas and subsequent self-construction. The latter refers to the purchase of lands at a low cost, which were sold by developers. The lands were later self-built or managed by their dwellers, called "pirates" because they did not comply with the regulations of urbanisation or legal authorisation. Also, they did not have public services. (Vásquez 2013:215).

The place-territory making process proves to be an active part of this process of construction of subjects and eco-political identities related with the Ecobarrios as:

“...we live in a place where we are, but where we are not. That's why, we need to have an identity that allows us to strengthen links with this territory, the sense of place and belonging...in order to respect it, encouraging the sense of having a meeting point for the construction of good living.” (Álvarez 2010:70).

Hence, the Ecobarrios initiative suggests strengthening of educational centres as places where children can ‘come closer to land’, achieve an appropriation of their territory and integration to the city. Also, as part of the initiative, re-signification of this territory and the Hills as an open classroom where people can have access to popular traditional knowledge is proposed. These proposals are implemented making schools and the hills the pedagogical places of change where social change and the exchange of knowledge at different levels are possible through appropriation, adaptation and materialisation of certain discourses associated with particular interests with children, like Héctor’s, who are these Ecobarrios future. Chapter 7 will study this in more detail.

The above makes evident of how the environmental rationale and its associated conflicts have been used to develop proposals like Ecobarrios in hybrid contexts as urban. In these contexts social agents or subjects not subjects have sought to be ecologically and politically subjected (at least in a concerted manner) by strategic reinvention of their place-based dynamic - hybrid (individual and collective) identities ¹¹³, linked to what they have defined as an Ecobarrio (García 2005; Leff 2004, 2010, 2011). This aimed at finding alternatives to the economic rationality (and spatiality) of modernity (as developmental, marketed, unsustainable), and unlocking social transformation processes by means of what authors, like Escobar (2008), have called politics of place, implying negotiation processes among the different agents.

Nevertheless, before going deeper into affairs like politics of place, and after having had a first approach to the proposal and its discourses from documents perspective, I believe it is important to explore this story from the ethnographic work in the next section. This taking into account people’s opinions, representations and perceptions to have access to the other ‘side of the coin’ that we cannot see through and behind the written word.

¹¹³ In permanent transformation.

6.3.2 Stories of the initiative: Ecobarrios and eco-political subjects and identities?

In this section, I will explore some people's narratives to re-construct Ecobarrios' local history focussing mainly on how the proposal emerged, who was involved, etc. I will start with the life story of Héctor Álvarez (Photo 35), this proposal's main mentor and community leader living in Manantial.

Although due to space constraints, I will only present some extracts of his life story, it is important to clarify that we held 20 sessions of extensive talks and others not as formal in buses, walking around the neighbourhood, etc. We began in 2009 and met more frequently between September 2012 and January 2013. I chose to do Héctor's life story because he has been the main representative of Ecobarrios and its implementation 'as a resistance strategy to avoid eviction in this territory' until 2015. Thus, I was really interested in understanding his role as a social actor in this process.

Photo 35. Héctor Álvarez
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Héctor is 45 years old and was born in Bogotá, in the locality of San Cristóbal. His mother and 4 siblings first came to live in Manantial when he was 9 and he was living with his grandmother. Then, he decided to live with his siblings at the age of 11.

"My mother arrived here in the late 70s because she heard about a housing project called Manantial or something like that. Everyone started to pay, but the man was a land pirate and fled with their money, so everyone came to invade. Next, we built our house with paroi

and sticks, since that was all we had. They tried to make us leave, but they couldn't; so they left us alone. Overcrowding and poverty were terrible, but my mother had her plot.

With regard to building and Hector's role as political subject, I noticed the following in his narrative:

"When I was about 13, Jesuits began to visit us to say Mass, do social work and academic research. They have always been aware of social problems on the Hills. That's how I had my first contact with them; mostly with researchers from CINEP like Carlos Vasco and Francisco de Roux, who once told me to help him to conduct surveys. From that moment, I started to work with CINEP, which has always taken part in fighting for these territories and implementation of popular education. I also took part in neighbourhood activities with the community action committee. When I was 15, I helped to build the Manantial's school; we all built it. I even was a teacher for some time. I worked with young people and Community Mothers; I did a lot of things. I have always liked working with the community and helping... Besides, I had to work as a cobbler, lift operator, worker, better said, I did everything because I became a father at the age of 14. Later, I went to the navy and I did very well. I won medals and all that stuff.

...when I was 25, I joined CINEP. They financed part of my studies in Environmental Administration at Santo Tomás University. I studied for 8 semesters, but I haven't been able to finish. I wanted to study that because the environment has always fascinated me since I was a child. I used to take care of plants and animals. For instance, when I had to go to the brickyard to fit pipes, I used to hide in the hills and listen to the birds...

However, CINEP was like my university. I worked with them on lots of research projects in Bogotá, Armenia, Magdalena Medio... about topics related to the Hills, human rights, development and citizens, right to the city and community leaders training. I even went to a congress in the USA to talk about urban violence.

In that way, I learned many of the discourses by CINEP experts. Also, I met a lot of people not only from the academia, but also from State institutions, NGOs and others... In fact, in many cases I was a substitute for those experts as I had to teach about human rights in many parts of the country. I met lots of peasants and defenders of human rights who were later killed.

Next, I was contacted by ENDA, an NGO that Works on building sustainable cities, to carry a technical and social study of the Fucha river. There, for example, I met Catalina who now works at the Environment Secretariat.

Regarding the genesis of Ecobarrios proposal, I found the following in Hector's narrative:

Around 2005, my mother got a letter of eviction. She asked them to be sent to warmer weather, but they said no. My mother did not like that, and said that even if she died, we would have to defend this house because we had made a lot of effort to get it. That's why I came back to the neighbourhood, and my mother became the main engine of my fight... I began to investigate what was happening with the evictions and resettlements and found out that the Eastern Hills Roundtable had organised an expedition to analyse the problems we were facing. Then, I started to study the topic in depth and joined the roundtable... until 2007 when I was asked to go back to CINEP to collaborate with the Project Region Bogotá and another by OXFAM, associated with the World Charter for the Right to the City; I

worked on strengthening the Roundtable through demonstrations. Like that it gained recognition by the district.

But later I began to realise that many people used the Roundtable to talk rubbish, get resources or gain political benefits. But the Roundtable is a social process whose aim is to be connected to what happens in the neighbourhoods... the Roundtable went through a crisis because of these political issues... and at the same time they were making everyone leave the territory. That's why I decided to leave the Roundtable for some time, and I sat with Rubén, the President of the JAC of Triángulo Alto and Marco from CINEP to think about something...

I came up with the idea to build a neighbourhood as a tribute to the late Mario Calderón, CINEP environmentalist, who was murdered. I had worked with him. He wanted to train me so that I was in charge of environmental issues at CINEP... He knew the Hills and this territory very well... He taught me a lot of things... but I had also seen something about Ecobarrios in a paper, I guess, and in a Roundtable forum I heard about some Ecobarrios in Germany, and I began to research about that... I found books about eco-urbanism and Mockus programme, besides things I'd read about Raul Zibech... so I took some elements and adapted them to this territory's reality, and I wrote a document presenting a proposal of resistance to this territory's lack of control and governability; not as an alternative model, but as an alternative to the model of city... with the purpose of encouraging territory unity by removing neighbourhood limits.

The proposal arises from the need to establish a resettlement policy in which Ecobarrios are seen as an alternative solution with community participation, to rearrange the territory neighbourhoods with urban borders... by a community that has been declared terminally ill, because that's how we feel. We feel as if we weren't loved by the State... facing market policies which broke us culturally and caused uncertainty.

Behind our history is all this idea about unmitigable risk, but what I think is that risk can't be affordable, which is different... why could they, across from the gulch, right in front of us, build the residential area called el Yuste and cut down a great deal of trees from the reserve to do so?... The risk allocation, which comes from the idea that poor people don't think about the territory or the environment, in our case, broke social structures... as if we only saw this as a place to sleep in with no significance, but that's not true... We dwellers know the territory, and not even one house has fallen down in 30 years... the concept of risk doesn't open up a possibility, that's why this struggle seeks to create political subjects who discuss the concept of risk...so that we all encourage or strengthen identity with the territory...

A lot of people from the community don't believe in the proposal because they like immediacy, and say that they haven't seen any progress...Others want to live and others say that I'm a dreamer, but if I don't have dreams and hope, what do I live for?... But I think that we have done several things with the community and the institutions. Besides, the aim of the proposal is to create an Ecobarrio, since this territory does have the DNA to do so, and all that keeps my dream alive... That's why I consider that now in 2012, it's time to stop activism and move on to concrete strategic actions, taking into consideration that we managed to put that in the development plan... as cartographic updating, environmental and social characterisation of the territory, housing analysis, risk micro-zoning , and so on... That is to say, a series of technical advances which make the proposal feasible, which is another phase,... and encourage the creation of social and technical proactive resistance, allowing for creation of resilient communities that are able to adapt to climate change.

In the future we hope to become a referent of the possibility of alternative habitat and territorial rearranging for the Hills and borders of the city... Referent of neighbourhoods and

territories made up of people with spirituality and environmental awareness that can live in tolerance, respect and peace... The conditions are ripe, and so is the willpower of the different agents, and I hope it can happen.” (Hector, pc, 02/06/09; 09/06/09; 27/08/09; 01/10/09; 10/11/09; 14/04/12; 31/05/12; 10/06/12; 04/08/12; 29/08/12; 06/09/12; 20/09/12; 03/10/12; 06/10/12; 10/10/12; 17/10/12; 23/10/12; 06/11/12; 10/11/12; 28/11/12)

The previous account of some parts of Héctor's life allows us to get to know a human being, one of the proposal's creators and main defenders, and understand why, how and in which context the proposal arose, and the logic behind it. Also, this account helps us understand how Hector, because of his childhood experiences, was particularly sensitive to political and environmental issues. Those experiences were characterised by the influence of schools like CINEP, which through popular education (based on Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) and provision of access to expert knowledge, sought to create active political leader subjects in those vulnerable territories of the city and country. CINEP was a humanities, development and human rights school that taught him to feel those issues beyond a discourse, in practice. He attended that school as he was one of the dwellers of those territories. What is more, CINEP helped Héctor to obtain university education in environmental issues by financing part of that education, which undoubtedly influenced all this process.

The Hills Roundtable also played an important role in Hector's education and sensitivity to political and environmental issues. This social process (composed by people and community leaders affected by environmental conflicts in Bogotá) proved to be essential since one of its main objectives has been to create politically influential agents from what is called policy of the locality with the purpose of developing hybrid identities nourished by: local, academic, technical and institutional knowledge; and connecting subjects, territories, conflicts and potentialities in the Hills. Finally, living in one of these vulnerable territories in the hills with nature and experiencing incidents, like his mother's or close people's, fed him and gave meaning to his training as a political and environmental place-based subject.

Therefore, Héctor incorporated various expert academic discourses and knowledge, like Zibechi's, Uruguayan thinker he talks about constantly¹¹⁴, and technical, institutional, local and experiential knowledges to his feelings, thoughts, and speech. Thanks to his connection with such knowledge and discursive objects (market policies which broke us culturally and caused uncertainty), categories (sustainable development) and strategies (activism), highlighted in his life story excerpts; and experiences and people, - that is to say, between

¹¹⁴ Zibechi has worked with social indigenous, peasant and popular urban movements in Latin America. He has referred to urban fringes as popular territories in resistance.

the command of expertise and his own projects (Miller and Rose 2008) - , he built the means to govern and improve his life and immediate surroundings.

As a result, acting as a political environmental /ecological hybrid active subject, he was able to create and shape a proposal like Ecobarrios, which went beyond protest. His objective with this proposal was to create political and ecological subjects who have ecological / environmental identities based on the territory, acting in accordance with the way he was trained at CINEP. This proposal became Hector's horizon of meaning and life, a light for a brighter future, a personal struggle that, as he has expressed, would be terribly frustrating were it not realised. Hence, he has developed several active and hybrid counter-discursive mechanisms and strategies, which have permitted him to permeate different levels or agents groups from inside and create spaces for negotiation. Depending on his interlocutors, he uses different discursive knowledge and certain intentionality, as talking to the community is quite different from talking to government officials. Consequently, he managed to get Ecobarrios included in the Development Plan 2012 – 2016 and it became his and his family's life project.

The foregoing also occurred at an advantageous moment for the proposal to emerge. This has been a significant historical moment as Héctor points out. It was the first time Bogotá had a leftist Mayor (Garzón 2004 – 2008), who designed the first development plan which entailed a rights approach to the city, the place-making and the construction of collective identities and an overall social commitment to end poverty and exclusion. This approach, along with the one of social construction of the territory derived from the POT, continued to be implemented during Moreno's administration (2008 – 2011) and Petro's favoured vulnerable and at risk populations. The latter was developed through the construction of citizen agreements for a sustainable habitat and decent housing. Those agreements have been designed by government officials who were and are still members of the Hills Roundtable and dwellers of these territories. The latter happened in a hybrid scenario where a progressive and participative approach that sought participation from vulnerable populations to make Bogotá a sustainable city met the market dynamics approach whose aim was to make Bogotá a 'competitive city', able to generate wealth (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá 2004 and 2008).

Insights from another two people interviewed during my fieldwork helped to complement other aspects of the grassroots Ecobarrios proposal origin and design. I thus examine below the testimonies from Rubén and Marco. Although I could only talk to each of them once in

July and August 2012, the outcomes of our meetings offered several insights inasmuch as they offered different perspectives from Hector's.

Rubén, aged 52, has worked in the building sector and has lived in the territory for about 30 years. About Ecobarrios he told me the following:

"I met Marco and Héctor at the Hills Roundtable because at that moment I was the president of the JAC of Triángulo Alto, and there we started with the idea of an Ecobarrio because I think Marco began to talk about that as a possibility for resettlement. Therefore, I started to investigate to contribute with something... Marco said he would be in charge of the social part, Héctor would work on the financial side, and as I am the builder, I would think of building... Because the State was taking people to houses that people did not like, the idea was to make houses with recycling materials, which were cheaper, and according to people's taste, relocating them right here... and as my son is an electrical engineer, he said he would help with electricity.

This idea of the Ecobarrio also arose because 7 years ago, Manantial and Corinto were said to be at unmitigable high risk, but Triángulo Alto was not, which caused a great deal of uncertainty...

CINEP gave us a sum of money that Héctor began to spend on the geological study, workshops, talks; but I wanted concrete results... therefore we organised a management team – Ecobarrios committee, but there were always conflicts. Pity because that was not the idea... What I always wanted was the model house... so in the end I quit ... and they ended up building the house in Juan Rey... I did not want to quit because I've always liked working with people, being a leader, but well...

Only those who belonged to the management team, and a few others, partially understood the Ecobarrio concept, but the rest of the community did not because not all had the same knowledge, and it was a bit confusing, and it was worse with all the legal stuff about the Hills. With Ecobarrios, we wanted to take care of the environment by doing activities like urban agriculture, replanting trees, recycling and communal living covenants aimed at solving the problems we had... The idea at one point was also to create a touristic cultural place, for example under the ecological corridor."(Rubén, pc, 23/08/12)

Marco is a sociologist, Hector's friend from CINEP and Ruben's from the Hills roundtable. He worked with them, assisting and supporting them in the process which he remembers as follows:

"...In 2009 I had already been working as an advisor at the Council of Bogotá and CINEP...I met Héctor at CINEP, and Rubén at the Hills Roundtable, in which I participated. There we discussed the possibility of creating an alternative habitat proposal to district neglect, the one Manantial, Triángulo Alto and Corinto were experiencing. Those neighbourhoods were inhabited mainly by peasants, were part of the forest reserve and had been declared as zones at unmitigable high risk... some plots... Héctor came up with the proposal of an Ecobarrio, but there wasn't a clear idea of what that was...We began to surf the Internet, but we found information about Ecobarrios in luxurious neighbourhoods, not a single proposal of an Ecobarrio for a popular area...We also got to know about Mockus Ecobarrios programme, but we did not know exactly what they had done, so we thought about how an Ecobarrio could be... The idea was that those neighbourhoods would write a territorial re-

zoning proposal to avoid being evicted and be relocated in situ... constructing a scenario where there was commitment to respecting the environment and self-management.

We worked with the community on taking steps towards creating the proposal. We discussed it; we consulted, organised a management team, and began to support the process with funding from CINEP. Later, Héctor, as a member of the community and CINEP wrote the primer. However, there were internal conflicts inside the management team in the community. Some people said that if they did not see any concrete results, they weren't going to support the proposal. Others were, and are, still committed... There were also management difficulties, including management of resources. Unfortunately, that prevented the model house from being installed. Besides, some people are used to assistance-based models - "asistencialismo" -, and have issues with the sense of belonging to the territory because of associated risk... Some wanted to stay and others did not. That has affected the process of appropriation of the proposal.

Despite all that, and the problems with the community, the proposal has positioned, thanks to Héctor's management, in scenarios like the Hills Roundtable, among government officials, and was included in the current development plan." (Marco, pc, 13/07/12)

Before analysing these two testimonies, I would like to include some extracts from my ethnographic meeting with Gilberto, a member of the Ecobarrios management team, who is still linked to it, and lives Manantial. This will be done to give an account of the various sides of the story, which will continue to be unpacked in the following chapter, including more testimonies from these neighbourhoods' dwellers.

"Ecobarrios has been a beautiful and good project for us because we have always found it difficult to create a united community, since our history has been full of conflicts in the territory... Ecobarrios has allowed us to connect, work in harmony, generate ideas together and the possibility of action facing the uncertainty caused by the problem of evictions..."

I guess the proposal was created by Héctor, Rubén, other people from CINEP, and us in order to generate alternative solutions to eviction due to risk assessment... After that, only the ones who wanted to continue working with Héctor are here, in spite of conflicts we've had.

When we began, we all wanted to build decent houses by using recycling materials, but unfortunately there were some conflicts with the resource management given by CINEP. What's more, we wanted to have a healthier relation with nature, the way I did when I lived in the countryside.... I'm a peasant, so I've always had a connection with nature, sowing, looking after the trees and living with animals. That's why I like it here because I feel as if I were in the countryside...

From the beginning, not many people have understood the proposal or have agreed with it because of several reasons; because they don't want to stay or because it doesn't sound good to them... but the ones involved know that this is a long term project, maybe an ambitious one, but we want to work on it because it gives us hope. Besides, we have everything to be an Ecobarrio." (Giberto, pc, 06/12/12)

Different versions about the proposal's origin and development are evident and reflect the history behind the document characterised by its many conflicts inside the territory, a

discursive object to which everyone referred. Nevertheless, it is clear that the proposal's design process, which began with Héctor, Marco and Rubén with support from CINEP, first consisted of labelling the proposal 'Ecobarrio'. The concept/label has been fed by the dwellers according to contextual particularities associated with the status of the territory as informal settlement, forest reserve and high risks area and neighbourhood leaders' personal motivation (Héctor, who many others in the area consider to be highly influential in structuring and giving meaning to such concept).

Moreover, according to some dwellers, certain members of the community also feel active members of the proposal's construction and implementation process. For many of them, the process continues still today because this grassroots conception of Ecobarrio offers the possibility of constructing one in a territory that has the required DNA. For that reason, the Ecobarrios process is in construction and they have done different activities since 2009 (I will describe them in the next chapter), emphasising the importance of the human component/dimension.

Due to the lack of clarity in the concept of Ecobarrio among some of those interviewed, we can see different types of discursive influences in the narratives derived from academic, expert and / or local and experiential knowledge. Generally speaking, according to the discursive objects, categories and strategies displayed – as highlighted in the above excerpts - the proposal highlights it's political - progressive and of place character, becoming an alternative – participatory proposal of dwellers to live in their territory and stay there in harmony and take care of the environment or nature. In this proposal, they reframe their occupation as a potential strategy for protection of the forest reserve uphill as it puts forward a form of dwelling on the eastern hills and buffer zones that can mitigate and manage risk.

This grassroots conception of Ecobarrios is therefore one way of being in the territory where they directly (literally in the document) or indirectly (depending on who talks) suggest constructing and empowering based on place/territory from what scholars have called political and environmental/ecological subjects, who are also hybrid due to influence from diverse discursive individual and collective approaches. These political subjects, in their own words, discuss and develop proposals to respond to the concept of risk, in which they and their territory have been categorised. They are responsible subjects who can govern themselves and their immediate environment, act individually and collectively, using their local and technical knowledge, and break the assistance-based model culture - which has

not yielded benefit in the long term since some are used to receiving help and not acting or fighting for their rights.

Environmental subjects with ecological awareness as a group, but maintaining their individuality, care for the environment or nature (depending on who talks) with which they live every day in this territory or in their neighbourhood. In this scenario this conception of environmental subjects does not imply a paradigm shift as it was for the first stage of the Mayor's office programme; instead, it shows influence from a global environmental awareness arising as part of the creation of the risk society¹¹⁵ and climate change. Alternatively, it denotes cultural influence from what they call 'peasant culture', in which they have lived from an early age in harmony with nature and animals.

Consequently, in a scenario where residents had been categorised by institutionalism and academia as subjects of 'uncertainty', 'risk', 'fright', 'with no future' (and as part derived dynamics such as eviction, family breakdown, relations networks severance) has forced dwellers to develop strategies or alternative actions by re-signifying and redefining themselves as eco-political individuals. In this case, that implies representing themselves as subjects of 'rights', 'hope', 'possibility' and 'confidence' (categories, values that they use in their narratives), appropriating and taking roots in their neighbourhood-territory. All these discursive categories and values embody the dichotomies of the eastern modern ontological approach's (future/ no future; hope/ hopelessness; certainty/ uncertainty-fright) to which they belong.

I refer in this context to a process of deconstruction of the dwellers as subjects mainly fostered by neighbourhood leaders. This process allows them to stop being subjected by the State (which did not recognize them as 'legal' citizens with rights) and enables them to reinvent themselves as hybrid subjects with a certain type of place-based political and environmental / ecological identity, with desire to create and/or reinforce it. In this case, such identities let them identify with different types of common values such as 'hope', 'respect', 'harmony', 'peace' and 'awareness' (discursive categories), and legitimate their wish and right to act politically and actively (individually and collectively) on planning their neighbourhoods and cities, and caring for the forest reserve. The latter with the purpose, according to neighbourhood leaders, of working together, dreaming, and making their territory-neighbourhood a better place: 'beautiful', 'happy', 'decent', 'peaceful' and 'quiet'

¹¹⁵ According to Beck (2008), the 'risk society' is associated with a phase of modern society where new environmental, social, political and economic risks emerged. These risks tend to evade institutional management and control, generating greater uncertainty and result in society's organisation by risk rather than wealth distribution. This pattern follows a social inequality process that generates new conflicts over resources and territory, for example.

(discursive categories) in order to strengthen their sense of belonging (discursive object), as many of them have been living there for decades.

Place – based identities aimed at creating a representation – greening of the territory, Hills, neighbourhood or place or a previous cultural naturalisation is stressed, depending on personal experience, to foster or strengthen a sense of belonging or roots. It is worth highlighting that the link among identity, territory and rights had been instilled within the current figure of nation State and had been part of political actions by active subjects (Hobsbawm, 2000), in turn demonstrating that in spite of global dynamics - where identities are dissolved (Bauman 2007) - we still live in the midst of dynamics where the link to the place is in force. It is a way of recognising, identifying and legitimating ourselves before nation States (which still exist) to face issues like land use. It is in the territory where we create and establish social and cultural networks and where we foster local knowledge that constantly transforms through interaction and links to it (Bolívar 2006; Escobar 2008).

Based on the previous discursive analysis of the lines of evidence (documents, fieldwork, life stories, interviews), I was able to interpret the following. Ecobarrio arose as a strategy by active subjects (in the market society, from modernity) who attempted to collate a response to eco-governmentality dynamics influenced by neoliberal ideas and environmentalisms in an urban environmental inequality context (Zeiderman 2012), and associated with government, urban planning and governance technologies such as risk and protected areas (for environmental resources preservation)¹¹⁶. These technologies are related to use mechanisms – land dispossession (eviction and resettlement), probabilistic calculations of potential events and adaptation to climate change in certain zones of forest reserve like the one they inhabit and which according to the institutional discourse are not habitable spaces for human communities (Rose et.al 2006; Zeiderman 2012).

These zones have strengthened their discursive cataloguing, representation and self-perception as ‘informal’, ‘vulnerable’, ‘marginal’, ‘with no future’, ‘at unmitigable high risk’, ‘in extreme poverty’, ‘neglected’, ‘denied subjects’, etc. As a result, the residents, from their action capacity, have sought to open new spaces for discussion, negotiation, participation, even decision making and problem solving by means of proposals (beyond protest) like Ecobarrios (Miller and Rose 2008).

¹¹⁶ “I draw here on 20 months of ethnographic research on the emergence of risk as a technique of urban governance in Bogotá, Colombia. The association of the city with civilisation and with related ideals of progress, development, and modernity has figured centrally in Colombia, as elsewhere in Latin America. However, in recent decades these ideals have been increasingly subordinated to the political rationality of security, and it is in this context that risk emerges as a technique of urban governance and “life at risk” becomes a salient form of “biosociality”. The displacement of welfare-oriented policies of development by protection-based logics of security was the result of neoliberal political and economic reforms and a half-century of violent conflict.” (Zeiderman 2013:74)

These (Counter)-discursive proposals such as Ecobarrios, according to the dwellers' narratives, use the same academic, institutional and technical discourses strategically, but redefine their expert categories based on local knowledge as instruments of dialogue and negotiation to be included and be able to defend their interests and individual and collective rights. Therefore, Ecobarrios proposal ends up reproducing mechanisms and devices of eco-governmentalities (for the governance of others and self – to shape one's behaviour) from re-signifying some dwellers of this territory, re-defining their subjectivities and individual and collective identities (Escobar 1999).

Indeed, more discursive emphasis is placed on their active political role as individuals and community with ecological and political identities under construction rather than on their 'citizens' role (discursive category). Neighbourhood leaders (Hector, Norma, Leonardo and Exelino) sometimes recognise Ecobarrio as a peaceful citizen resistance strategy, even in institutional contexts. Adults and elderly from Triángulo seemed to understand the term 'citizen' as charged with tension and conflict given their situation of informal and illegal occupiers of the territory; they think that the State has forgotten them and has denied their rights and their recognition as citizens. Therefore, they have preferred to emphasise Ecobarrio as a resistance strategy from popular sectors with ecological and political identities tied to their permanence on the territory.

The foregoing can be considered a part of the discursive appropriation, interpretation and redefinition dynamics of categories, meanings and values, of the politics of place (crossed by the cultural dimension and displayed in the everyday life) by those who desire to stay in the territory (some of them for personal interests) and create a collective project led by neighbourhood leaders whose room for manoeuvre travels through the political interstices in tension, not only inside the community but also at several levels. These levels are associated, in this case, with other social processes, the district and academia (both at national and international level), creating spaces of recognition, alliances, networks, dialogues, debates, negotiation and possible transformation of political matters (Escobar et.al 2001; Ulloa 2004; Ortner 2006; Grimson 2014).

It is worth turning to a gender perspective to take a closer look at the internal power dynamics in the area. As previously mentioned, the grassroots conception of Ecobarrios was mainly male-led. Women were involved later on at the proposal's implementation stage. This is not surprising considering the politics of place of Triángulo territory, where women have not become JAC presidents since it is always a man who takes on the presidency or vice-presidency. However, it cannot be denied that over time, as some dwellers recalled,

there have been some female leaders who have been greatly influential in the territory's politics and have been JAC secretaries, community mothers, teaching assistants at the school and even reaching the locality level and working with the San Cristobal local mayor's office.

Despite this, some women explained that their political role in the territory has not been easy. According to them, men hold very male chauvinistic views that prevent them from taking women into account when discussing neighbourhood's important issues and relegate them to their mothers and housewives roles. This has led many of them to find their own ways by meeting as women only groups to talk about these issues, attending the hills roundtable and local mayor's office events or even preparing themselves academically, reading and acquiring information. Some men I interviewed said that although they do not think themselves male chauvinistic, they did believe neighbourhood's leadership was better assumed by them since if women were in charge, it would be more dangerous as they are troublesome; it could also happen that they were 'bullied' for being women at the locality, city and territory level. Thus, this case evinces that gender perspective is a key factor in politics of place, where men are socially accepted as political subject. This does not imply that women are not, but the difference is that they may have to hide their political activity or struggle for their place (as they describe it) because it is frowned upon by men, permeating some women who end up considering it unacceptable.

Finally, this discursive exploration of the local Ecobarrios initiative also revealed some aspects of urban environmental politics and governance in Bogotá. First, how problems associated with environmental and social conflicts anchored in place, have led to the development of urban proposals such as Ecobarrios, which make use of environmental rationale, in forest reserve areas such as the Eastern Hills. Proposal, as the actors explained, have emerged from popular sectors, some of which inhabit informal neighbourhoods, in order to be recognised as citizens by the State. This implies being included in the decisions that are made about their territory and about themselves. Decisions associated with the conservation issues of the forest reserve area (related with sustainable models of habitability) and mitigating the risk in that territory, connected to programmes such as those of resettlement. For this reason, through the Ecobarrio's initiative, the inhabitants sought to define themselves and be recognised as political, social and ecological subjects that should be include in governance dynamics. Being defined in this way creates the possibility of a future, of hopes, rights and an ecological identity based on place, capable of negotiating and working together with different stakeholders. For this purpose, they have used strategies such as the use and re-definition of the institutional

discourse and the use of their local and traditional knowledge, validated culturally and for their permanence and experience in the territory.

Likewise, through Ecobarrios, those inhabitants of El Triángulo who support the proposal and want to stay in their territory seek to question the issue of urban environmental politics in Bogotá. Specifically, they questioned why on their side of the hill government institutions gave it an unmitigable high-risk factor and take into account that their neighbourhoods are in a forest reserve area. Due to these factors they must be evicted, when they know, within their knowledge of the territory, that not all the zone is at unmitigable high-risk and for example they could be relocated in situ. Triángulo inhabitants also raise the question of why on the other side of the same hill, where only the Chuscal Quebrada divide them, within the same geomorphological unit, they cut down trees that are part of the forest reserve to build the private urbanisation of el Yuste. Why on that side of the hill did the government and different stakeholders do not apply the same discourses and environmental factors? They are not generators of negative environmental impacts and on their side of the hill they are called and signified like that.

For many of them, this explains how environmental discourses are co-opted to justify their eviction, likely because of political and private interests in this territory. Nevertheless, Triángulo inhabitants clarify that it was not always like that, for example, during the Gustavo Petro mandate, a different attitude of the district institutions towards this territory was handled. Since it was defined in its development plan, the idea was to generate participatory governance, which took into account the welfare of vulnerable populations, who were involved with social and environmental conflicts, through participatory budgets. Hence, the people from El Triángulo were taken into account in participatory processes within their territory, where their traditional and local knowledge was included, for instance, some resettlements were made in situ.

Something really interesting that could be observed through the case of Ecobarrios in Triángulo, is how, for several decades in Bogotá, diverse participatory mechanisms have been created from the base. For example, the Eastern Hills round table and a series of social processes associated with environmental issues such as wetlands, Tunjuelo River, among others, have been more strongly empowered since 2000 to date (2017), more during some mayors than others. All of them, under arguments such as people being excluded from the city model due to market forces and touch on various problems associated with urban environmental conflicts such as: the need for a decent habitat, holistic risk

management, pacts of borders, sustainable alternatives of habitability and environmental education.

The latter shows how nature, environment or natural resources (depending on the category used) have come to play an important role in urban planning issues, as an actor present and re-signified by the different stakeholders. For example, the hills have become a scenario for confrontation over land use, the sustainable use of them and their conservation between the district, private sector, community and academia. They have been defined and represented as forest reserve zones, adjustment strip zones, unmitigable high-risk areas, areas of informal settlements and of the most expensive neighbourhoods in the city.

Therefore, planners, government officials, academia and NGO's are advised to continue to include these participatory mechanisms and social processes as part of the construction of participatory, inclusive and democratic urban environmental governance, fostered by them. The latter has already been tried by mayors such as Petro, and according to the members of these mechanisms and processes, this has been positive for the community and facilitated the processes with the district. As many of them argue, this has strengthened what they call the locality policy as ecological politics, with which they seek to be recognised as influential political agents in urban and national planning processes. For example, being taken into account in the construction of maps, from methodologies such as social cartography, where their knowledge and relationship with the territory is taken into account. Being involved in the transformation or adjustment of programmes such as resettlement programmes, which often have not been taken into account their interests and needs (whether they want to go or not, where they would like to live, what kind of house they want, what rent they can afford etc); And in the re-definition of institutional and technical concepts, such as risk and its management, taking into account their knowledge of the place, territory and nature, as some peasants in the city call it.

The inhabitants of El Triángulo also suggested a more humane approach by government officials. They explained that when this happened, it facilitated much more than the design, implementation, and development of district programmes, because officials were more interested in learning the history of these neighbourhoods and their inhabitants. This allowed them to understand the constant conflict that exists in this territory and to develop mechanisms and strategies to avoid fomenting it and working on the solution. For example, through exercises such as the historical reconstruction of the territory and the mapping workshop that was done during my thesis that included diverse actors, which allowed a first micro-zonification of risk.

Another issue that I consider should not be overlooked for the participatory exercise of urban environmental governance is the importance of leaders such as Hector in many of Bogotá's neighbourhoods and the role they play within the politics of place and in the environmental politics of the city. I consider it fundamental to take them into account for the participative development of any programme in the city. The latter clearly does not mean excluding the rest of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods and territories, since at the end the idea is to try to involve the largest number of inhabitants, so that they feel part and important within the projects.

Regarding the topic of place and identification within these diverse scales, in this case it is again observed that the people of the neighbourhoods do not have a sense of belonging with the scale of the UPZ. Instead they have a sense of belonging with the neighbourhood, territory and the Eastern Hills (a geomorphological unit), which I consider fundamental for any programme to be implemented.

With respect to the multi-scalar analysis it was observed that although it is sometimes useful for the researcher to divide it by levels, since this can facilitate its study, in real life, and as we saw in this case, the relationship of these levels is much more complex. For example, in the case of the Ecobarrio's local initiative, although the proposal arises from the local scale, it also does so for reasons that are combined with the institutional scale, which accounts for its complexity. However, it may be interesting as part of a study of this complexity, to also try to delineate how the various scales are interrelated or not, which representations and perceptions arise from each of them, recognising this complexity and exploring it at the same time. This would justify doing this analysis by maintaining the levels, without assuming that they are separate, but can be interconnected and accounts for its complexity.

After an analytical journey through the discursive trajectory of Ecobarrios local initiative, as part of its own historical contextualisation, in the final analytical chapter I will explore what happened or how this was / has been materialised through place-based discursive practices, curiously, making one of Ana and Carlos's dreams come true: "We dreamt about having Ecobarrios of borders, which soften the pressure of urbanisation and help to preserve a fundamental natural heritage site of Bogotá: The Eastern Hills." (Ana and Carlos, pc, 12/12/2009)

Chapter 7. Following Eco-political Subjects and Identities through the Everyday Practices

In this chapter I'm going to trace what happened to the Ecobarrios local discourses in practice, how the discourses travelled and whether they permeated the place-based inhabitants' daily life. I'm going to explore to what extent the grassroots conception of eco-political subjects with eco-political and territorial identities, described in the previous chapter, materialised into concrete (discursive) practices adopted by Triángulos' local dwellers. The discussion that follows contrasts the different types of information that I collected through participant observation, ethnographic interviews, life stories, participatory mapping and the production of sketched maps.

With regard to **community ethnography**, as direct social observation and participant exercise, unfortunately I could not stay and live at least a few days in these neighbourhoods for safety reasons and availability of space¹¹⁷. As in Lombardía, this led me to rethink the methodological strategies in the field. With the help of two research assistants and the willingness of local residents, who were very kind to me and open to answer my questions, I was able to spend long hours in the field from early morning until as late as security conditions would permit. I was also able to extend the interviews and informal visits to enter and witness private / domestic activities.

I interviewed those who were part of Ecobarrios grassroots initiative since 2009 until 2015, those who were for a while and those who never took part. This in turn allowed me to access diverse points of view about this local strategy. Initially I contacted some people recommended by Hector, but while carrying out the interviews and participant observation I became increasingly aware of the dynamics and different points of view that local dwellers had about Ecobarrios grassroots initiative. I then realised that while some supported the initiative, others did not. In the end, I had an average of between one or two meetings (total 66) with 21 people from Manantial, 8 from Triángulo, 13 from Alto Triángulo and 4 people who have been linked to Ecobarrio but do not live there. The latter included a local school teacher, those in charge of the eco-house in the Juan Rey neighbourhood and one of the proposal's promoters (see annex 17). As in the case of Lombardía, I considered the ethnographic matrix that I designed to guide these interviews (see annex 13).

¹¹⁷ They could not host me in their houses due to limited availability of space; also, security conditions were more complicated than in Lombardía. Hence, the role of my field research assistants was crucial. It is worth noting that thanks to my good relationship with people nothing ever happened to me. I experienced scary moments, but nothing that can be considered an aggression.

Regarding the mapping workshop and the mapping sketch exercise, these flowed as part of the readjustment of the methodology on the field.

7.1 Narrating, mapping and drawing place-based eco-political subjects-identities and their practices

According to the narratives of those interviewed and also through my participant observation since 2009, there was a first moment when neighbourhood leaders, such as Hector and Ruben, designed and implemented Ecobarrios between 2009 and 2010. They counted on help from the Ecobarrio generating team composed of 19 inhabitants: 5 from Manantial, 8 from Triángulo Alto, 3 from Triángulo Bajo and 3 from Corinto, of whom 12 were male and 7 female. Thus, diverse individual and collective practices were materialised. Some of these activities overlapped the different dimensions outlined in the previous chapter and continued during the second phase of Ecobarrios, between 2010 and 2015. Such activities included the following:

Urban agriculture: this was not a new activity for some of them since it was part of their daily lives in the country where families practised agriculture for generations. Therefore, since they arrived in an area with favourable natural conditions, they (or their relatives) started to do what they knew: sow and grow food. They used their traditional knowledge, from their own experience and 'peasant culture' (discursive category), which allowed them to continue this practice and helped them 'to feel at home' (discursive object). Ecobarrios promoted this activity and established individual and community organic orchards where children, young, adults and elderly grew 'tomate de arbol', 'lulo', blackberry, corn, potato, etc. (photo 36). Some did not have much experience and did the same as Nepomuceno, who besides learning from others like Gilberto (displaced peasant) considered to be an expert by many who I interviewed, researched in urban agriculture books (expert knowledge). They still keep the individual orchards today, while others were abandoned due to lack of time among other reasons. Several neighbours explained that it was hard to share responsibility to maintain the collective orchards, as doing so requires "commitment, love and connection with *la tierrita* (mother earth), [as well as] knowing her cycles" (Gilberto, pc, 04/06/12).

Photo 36. Individual and community organic orchards
Source: personal file Ome 2009



Additionally, local dwellers started collective urban agriculture programmes with children in plots left empty due to eviction and at the local school. School teachers with some parents have been developing an educational programme associated with Ecobarrios to raise awareness about this issue and specific activities such as the school orchard (as I will gradually show):

"These activities have focussed on enhancing the appropriation of the territory and the development of ecological awareness so that children will connect with and take care of nature of their surroundings...the truth is that we have done very well, children are very sensitive to this and they do it all with pleasure and love and they are happier and more hopeful, which is very positive because many face problems arising from rape, domestic violence or malnutrition at home." (School teacher, pc, 06/12/12)

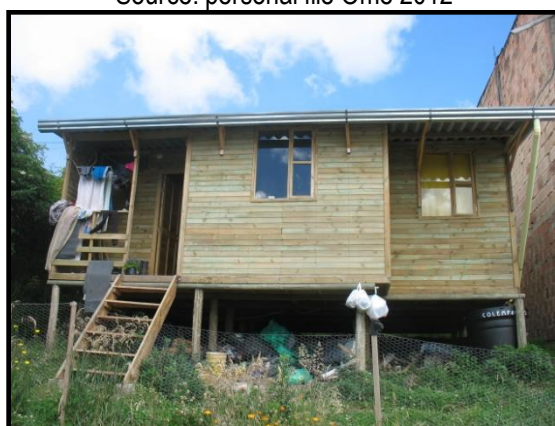
After 2010, young people started to participate in urban agriculture projects on abandoned plots as part of the proposal. Hector and Gilberto, as part of the promoting team and in collaboration with universities, such as Nacional, carried these out to generate 'social, political and ecological awareness' (discursive categories) and 'greater appropriation of the territory' (discursive object). Likewise, this activity has remained through time and

institutions, like Jardín Botánico, have delivered workshops and supplied local residents with seeds.

In this case, the fact that this practice existed before Ecobarrio implies a previous discursive rationale where agriculture enabled them 'to continue something that was part of their daily life in the country' (Adriana, pc, 11/12/12), to 'provide for themselves in healthier, more affordable manner in their poor conditions' (Martha, pc, 12/06/12). With Ecobarrio's implementation this practice acquired an additional discursive connotation where it became a practice "to help the planet, carrying out sustainable activities that follow nature's rules and did not disturb mother Earth's balance" (Angela, pc, 08/08/12) (discursive object derived from good living discourse).

Building the Eco-house: one of the main objectives of Ecobarrios was to implement an ecological and sustainable (discursive categories) eco-house pilot, building with recycled materials and solar panels 'as a model of dignified housing' (discursive object). In 2010 the eco-house was built in Juan Rey, a neighbourhood also in the eastern hills where CINEP was supporting an urban agriculture project. This happened because Hector found out through his institutional contacts that if the pilot eco-house was built in Triángulo, the district would demolish it as a political act given that building at the Hills was not allowed due to the legal limbo (Photo 37). The idea was to develop the model in an alternative location and then adopt it later in Triángulo neighbourhoods. However, all this made the community uncomfortable because they did not agree with using CINEP resources to build an eco-house in a territory other than Triángulo.

Photo 37. Eco – house Juan Rey
Source: personal file Ome 2012





At the time of writing (2016), Amadeo, drama teacher, lives in the ecohouse, which has solar panels, orchard, greenhouse, rain water storage tanks and energy saving lightbulbs and recycles. For him, living in the ecohouse represents:

“...not only an ecological lifestyle, but it is in itself a revolutionary act that demonstrates that you can live differently from the prevailing system...a way based on conscious love, happiness, tranquillity and respect for nature, its cycles and other living beings ...” (Amadeo, pc, 14/12/12)

Furthermore, and thanks to several workshops organised by the promoting team, dwellers from Triángulo, mainly men, started or continued using materials such as wood (not cement or brick) for their own houses and techniques with plastic bottles for repairs of the football field in Manantial (photo 38). They still implement these practices today (2015).

This reveals that this practice was permeated by several discursive rationales such as eco-urbanism and ecological modernisation, which considers technology as instrument for sustainable development and progress. However, these discursive logics varied depending on the actor; for example, when Amadeo describes living in the eco-house as “a revolutionary act against a system... where the relationship with nature is with a living being rather with a resource” (Amadeo, pc, 14/12/12), he evinces influence from alternative holism, good living and green romanticism.

Photo 38. Football field construction
Source: personal file Ome 2009



Treatment of organic waste: organic fertilisers obtained from composting and worm farming were, and still are, employed because besides 'being useful they are a good distraction', it is an activity they enjoy doing as a family or community. These practices are collective – domestic and/or public, since families implement them in their house and also at the local school (photo 39). They started treating organic waste even before Ecobarrios, as they used to use similar techniques in the country. In this case, influence from discourses derived from approaches like good living, green romanticism and sustainability are observed since they justify continuing this practice as sustainable way to help nature and the planet by reusing organic waste instead of throwing it away.

Photo 39. Domestic composting
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Use of Medicinal native plants: some Triángulo dwellers strengthened and promoted the use of native plants such as calendula, chamomile, eucalyptus, etc. as medicines, exchanging this 'peasant cultural knowledge' (discursive object) among them given their experience in the country or in this territory. Thanks to the ethnographic observation I realised that the elderly have more knowledge about this. They keep this collective and individual practice until today (2015) and women, men and children are involved.

This practice followed in the discursive logic that "...we had to make the most of nature's wisdom and use the remedies it offered" (Estrella, pc, 28/10/12). Besides given some people's financial conditions, it was convenient for them to "...take from what the earth offered to heal them, drink infusions or clean their homes from negative energies, without having to pay" (Martha, 01/11/12) . Ecobarrio invested this practice with an additional meaning where its function is legitimised by good living, alternative holism and green romanticism discourses that promote care and respect for nature as a living being that has wisdom from which we should learn and respect, in this instance through the use of 'healing plants'.

Waste Collection: in order to avoid pollution, develop an 'ecological consciousness' (discursive category), promote 'social cohesion' (discursive category) and "...to keep the territory and public spaces clean and pretty" (Pilar, 29/11/12) (discursive object), the JACs presidents in each neighbourhood started collective waste collection campaigns in 2009 (photo 40). Unfortunately, as they said, the dwellers (children, young, adults and elderly) stopped doing this because the JACs presidents organising these activities stopped due to personal conflicts; nowadays one of the territory's problems is waste disposal. This activity has been kept only at the local school where they hold rubbish collection events with the children to keep the school premises clean.

Photo 40. Waste collection
Source: personal file Ome 2009

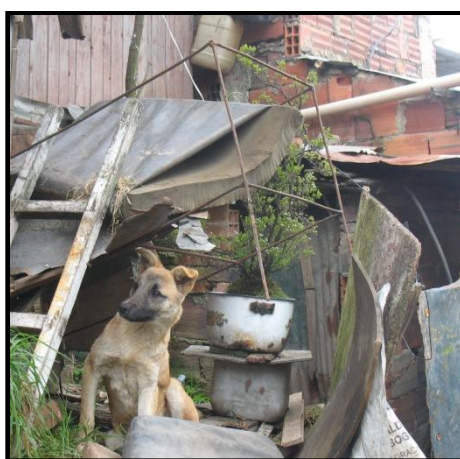
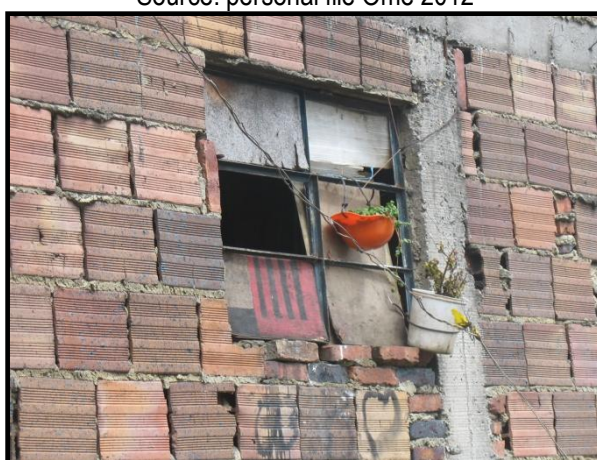




Recycling campaigns: in 2009, these JACs campaigns targeted neighbourhood inhabitants (mainly women and school children) to teach them to sort rubbish and re-use recycled materials (plastic, cardboard, etc.) to make decorations, dolls and, seedbeds. The JACs presidents also promoted the use of rainwater and saving water and electricity. Thus, many local residents (children, young, adults and elderly) 'have turned several of these behaviours into daily life habits' (discursive object), as they acknowledge and as I could observe in some of my visits to their homes where they sometimes used a bucket or cooking pot to grow plants, as stool or even to collect rain water to use in the bathroom. However, they commented that some of these activities (such as rainwater recycling and the dolls, decorations) were already part of their lives since 'they needed to be resourceful in their poverty conditions' (discursive objects). Thus, the Ecobarrio discourse provided these activities with new meaning from a sustainable perspective of eco-urbanism and ecological

modernisation, carrying out these activities to 'look after the hill and the environment in a sustainable manner' and at the same time 'being able to save on public services bills, helping the planet' (both discursive objects). Nevertheless, this did not imply that the previous discursive meaning – these activities were associated with 'poverty and scarcity' (discursive categories) – disappeared. They still lived in conditions that did not allow them to buy dolls for their children, decorations for their homes or pay utilities; they had to become 'resourceful' (discursive category) (photo 41). Hence, both discursive meanings ended up providing support for these practices.

Photo 41. Recycled pots
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Sports: in 2009, the JACs presidents used existing activities such as football and 'tejo' to foster 'cohesion', 'integration' and 'solidarity' (discursive categories) between neighbours, and created new ones like 'zanqueros' with support from the young who were interested in participating in matches and tournaments in the locality, representing Ecobarrios from Triángulo territory (photo 42). Some of these collective activities still take place today; football and 'tejo' matches reflect the cultural importance these sports hold for Colombian. 'Tejo' is a national sport whose origin dates back to a pre-Hispanic time and is associated

with Muisca, indigenous group inhabiting the Cundiboyacense plateau where Bogotá is located, among other cities (from where a lot of Triángulo's inhabitants come). Many Triángulo inhabitants, men in particular, played 'tejo', few women participated but they all knew that 'tejo was a sport inherited from their indigenous ancestors' (discursive object), that, as they explained, had been passed down through generations and their people had learned it with their parents, uncles and other relatives. That is the main reason why they still practise it apart from the fact that 'it is very entertaining'.

Sports were mainly a male field and although there was some re-signification when representing the Ecobarrios team and what this name represented, these bonds they forged were destroyed with time and due to conflicts among the JACs presidents and neighbours over their support or rejection of the Ecobarrio initiative. The group of 'zanqueros' was diluted because many families were relocated and many young people left, committed suicide or relapsed in drug addiction. They do not play football and 'tejo' as an Ecobarrio team because of all the conflict and tension experienced. Therefore, this activity has regained its previous cultural signification, which was never lost and enables its preservation, making those spaces opportunities for 'coming together and have fun' (discursive object), regardless of where they come from.

Photo 42. Zanqueros and football
Source: personal file Ome 2009 and 2013





Cultural activities: from 2009, JACS presidents supported activities such as fairs, ecological walks, posters and mural drawing, the latter as part of youth projects led by Nacional University with the group's Subversion visual and Aituve. At present, children, young, adults and the elderly still organise walks around the territory and an annual Ecobarrios fair. For their part, school staffs continue to coordinate ecological activities such as the environment week and territory walks to date (2015). All of these have been held as 'integration activities' (discursive object) for the community to build 'cohesion' and 'solidarity' (discursive categories) and 'strengthen their sense of belonging and identity with the territory' (discursive object) beyond neighbourhood's borders (photo 43 and 44). Also, they aim to prevent crime, drugs and alcohol consumption, and suicide among the young and re-signify spaces previously considered 'places of violence and hopelessness' (discursive category) to create the opportunity to think of a better future. These places of violence and hopelessness include a tree in Manantial where several youths committed suicide because these 'poverty' and 'violence' conditions brought them down and did not allow them to have expectations about a brighter future.

Photo 43. Fair
Source: personal file Ome 2010



Photo 44. Mural drawings
Source: personal file Ome 2009





A knitting micro-enterprise project called 'Women weaving peace' supported by CINEP and Javeriana University (thanks to Hector) was part of the cultural activities. Lida, one of Triángulo Alto leaders and who was in charge of the activity, shared the following:

"At the beginning, we were 25 and although some had to leave because they were evicted, 10 of us stayed because we really like what we do!...what we knit, we sell scarfs, baby socks, vests, tights, bags, etc in fairs....we gave it that name because the neighbourhoods were very apart and we wanted to integrate, trying to work for the same cause and territory....until 2012 we met quite a lot, we cannot as much today because there is no time, it is a shame because we had fun, we even solved our problems talking among us..." (Lida, pc, 05/01/13)

Thus, during this early stage of Ecobarrios, activities as those outlined above mentioned took place, with many still continuing at the time of writing (2015). The justification of the development of these activities varies according to what each person understands or perceives of the Ecobarrio. On the one hand, the dwellers, mainly men, women (specifically those that are leaders in their neighbourhoods) and the young who have taken part in Ecobarrios activities, explain what they did or do 'as part of a strategy of resistance' (discursive object) so that they will not be evicted; and if they are, at least they should be well informed in order to make a conscious decision as every institution tells them something different. Also, most of the residents, neighbourhood leaders and their families in particular, explain that they developed these activities as part of a 'participative and sustainable proposal for territory re-ordering, in situ relocation and legalisation' (discursive object). The latter is part of 'a peaceful protest and proposal in the face of State neglect and the city's neoliberal model that excludes them' (discursive object) to have 'dignified and sustainable housing' (discursive object). Through this peaceful protest the dwellers said that they also want to have a 'close and trouble-free community' (discursive object), since they live in constant conflict, unifying the neighbourhoods in just one territory. The residents' idea with Ecobarrios is to develop an ecological project "...to raise awareness, take care of the environment and connect more closely to nature, with the hill" (Álvarez, pc, 03/12/12), using

knowledge derived from peasant cultures for instance. The latter also aims to help the young who are taking drugs or alcohol, in delinquency, or even suicidal, to give them 'hope and a better future' (discursive object); even to bring 'progress' (discursive category) to the territory.

Thus, it can be observed how the discourse children, young, adults and elderly use to refer to the Ecobarrio and its practices was influenced by several discursive rationales such as eco-urbanism, sustainable and ecological cities and good living acquiring a hybrid character. This particular case may also be interpreted as an example of the environmentalisms of the poor (Martínez, 2002) given its contextual conditions.

Those who participated and participate in Ecobarrios (men, women, young and elderly) explained that during that early stage many people in the community (adults, young people and children) were enthusiastic and got involved in all these activities, managing to 'hold together', 'be happy', 'have hope' (discursive categories), 'work together, feel useful and not alone' (discursive objects) as they saw results such as having 'clean and pretty' homes and neighbourhood (discursive categories). They all worked together supported by a management team and tensions between neighbourhood decreased; they started to see orchards produce; they were recognised as the Ecobarrio for their participation in cultural events.

However, when the management team members started to fight over neighbourhoods' resources, many people started to leave the activities because they did not want to be in the middle of fights where there claims that 'the invaders' wanted to steal those resources. Therefore, people started to distrust the Ecobarrio implementation process and the people leading it. When eviction was a reality, many had to leave their activities, even if they did not wish to do so (for example, the young did not want to stop the 'zanqueros'). Others (mainly adults) for their part were never interested because they did not believe in the proposal; they had different priorities such as eradicating drug addiction and delinquency; others just wanted to leave, because 'they longed for a better quality of life, a better future, access to progress' (discursive objects), and some even for health related issues. Eventually, there were some (mainly adults and elderly) who never learned about Ecobarrios and they still do not really know why; they believe that it may have been due to communication problems which have always been present in the community.

Thus, due to conflicts I referred above, the Ecobarrios implementation process was complicated and gave way to a second stage (from 2011 to date) where resettlement

processes and conflicts among Ecobarrios founders have happened due to its circumstances (referred to particularly in section 6.2). In 2011, several of the initial activities continued, but collective practices started to be affected for there were increasing numbers of people evicted from neighbourhoods such as Corinto, which was totally vacated that year. This led people who had supported the process to leave. Adriana, an inhabitant of Manantial and management team member, explains why she preferred to leave with her family:

“...it affected me psychologically to live in that neglect from the State, without hope, without a future for myself and my children, in that scenario where Corinto seemed a ghost town, in ruins, where there was a dense energy and one breathed desolation and sadness ...I was shocked to see the numbers on houses doors, that is what we were, numbers in a list, it was like the holocaust” (Adriana, pc, 05/12/12)

Thus, many like Adriana, the young and elderly in particular, started to change their way of thinking and leave as this offered the possibility of a better future, in a less violent place for them and their children. They looked to settle in a place where their rights to dignified housing, education and work opportunities, medical attention and entertainment were granted.

These events (evictions, resettlements, conflicts among Ecobarrios managers and the fact that many people start to change their minds about to stay or leave) led the process' collective rhythm to slow down in 2011 and be relegated to individual actions of some people such as recycling at home or keeping their orchards. However, some of the management team members and Hector in particular (as everybody says) continued their management political action. This took the Ecobarrios grassroots initiative to different levels like the Hills Roundtable with the network of institutional and academia contacts that they had built; and at a personal level, as in Hector's case although not so much with the inhabitants. Hector, Gilberto and German (young) from Manantial and other neighbourhood leaders like Exelino and Norma from Triángulo Alto, and Leonardo and Asuncion from Triángulo Bajo focussed on the levels mentioned above and stopped working to establish Ecobarrios at the community level, in the territory and with the people.

Nevertheless, having taken the Ecobarrios initiative to other levels, beside the community, led to another unexpected twist in the Ecobarrios process in 2012 (just when I started to do my field work) when its proposal was included by the district government in the 2012 - 2016 Development Plan. As several government officials (who were also members of the hills Roundtable and now had district management positions) have explained, the grassroots

Ecobarrios proposal found an echo not only at the city level but also within institutions, thanks to influence of a social process such as the hills Roundtable. The latter in a historic moment during Petro's mandate where progressive political will emerged to search for sustainable housing alternatives in the city borders and to help the most vulnerable sectors (such as Triángulo).

Besides, some people who had been relocated (and who supported the proposal) came back to the territory because they had problems with the houses and conditions they had been granted; for example, utility bills in the new houses were very expensive and they did not have money to pay them, the houses were tiny compared to those they had in Triángulo. In August 2012, thanks to Hector's work, the proposal was invited to participate in the World Habitat Awards.

All this reactivated the process' collective dynamics and people were interested again in the Ecobarrios grassroots initiative. That is why those who still supported the Ecobarrio (doing daily activities associated to it) and some new inhabitants, started to talk about it in district institutional and citizen spheres (such as inter-institutional Ecobarrios table, pre-councils, councils, social mobilisations). Hence, a new interest in connecting the initiative to the community re-emerged among Ecobarrios project managers and some neighbourhood leaders, strengthening it. In this context, at the request of members from Triángulo community, I designed and developed a participatory mapping workshop as part of my project's methodology. The inhabitants were interested in this type of methodology since they had already seen the District government doing some social cartography exercises in other territories. Also, the hills' Roundtable, part of their localities political sphere (as they call it), was implementing historical mapping as a mechanism for recognition and appropriation of the territory; like real social cartography to include them, really taking into account their particular situations and interests. Therefore, Triángulo inhabitants thought that mapping could be an appropriate tool to address the issue of risk in their territory, both at local and institutional level.

The workshop "Mapeando Nuestro Territorio para su Defensa y la Buena Convivencia desde la perspectiva del Riesgo y el Ecobarrio" (see figure 12), was designed and developed by and for the community with the support and participation of the DPU – UCL, Erigaie Foundation and the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies on Development (Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo - Cider – Andes University). The community decided to invite officials from IDIGER and the Secretary for District Planning, as these were important entities working on risk classification and management. The inhabitants also

invited the geologist Orlando Navas (Ingeominas), who was an expert volunteering to help them with risk delimitation and prevention in the territory. My role was to organise and coordinate the event.

This event was also part of the DPU project 'The Heuristics of Mapping Urban Environmental Change', whose objective was to refine the mapping's conceptual and methodological approach through a heuristic process¹¹⁸, engaging international researchers, activists and organisations. This is a platform aiming to apprehend how place production practices carried out by common citizens reinforce, resist or transform production or reproduction of injustice in the cities (<http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/mapping-environmental-change>).

The community defined the title and main workshop's objective namely to map their risk perception and representation, taking into account traditional-local and technical knowledge, in order to give it the same 'relevance and validity' (discursive categories) to both types of knowledge. Also, the local residents involved in the mapping initiative aimed to identify Ecobarrios place-based past, present and future practices from the perspective of the hills' inhabitants in order to support the proposal, showing how Ecobarrio's DNA was present in their territory and in some of their practices. Finally, they endeavoured to re-signify, re-apprehend and recognise their territory and strengthen their community bonds.

¹¹⁸ Heuristic refers to the art of discovering and in this project to discovering through mapping.

Figure 12. Bogotá Mapping Workshop Poster

Ome 2012



Hence, between November 8 and 10 2012, a three-day workshop started with the identification of the local practices that made dwelling in the slopes possible. This was then followed by a session where these practices were located on an aerial photo of the area. The base map was further populated in the field, through a full-day transect walk undertaken by a group of 25 local residents¹¹⁹, government officials and academics with the intention of putting together the four seemingly disparate neighbourhoods. The last day was devoted to analysing the map produced and identifying Ecobarrios current and aspirational practices, potential strategies for risk reduction and to enhance social cohesion and collective action as well as fostering dialogue with government officials. The main outputs of the workshop were 4 'live maps' (for risk, past, present and future Ecobarrios practices) conceived as an online platform that continued to be updated by the inhabitants after the workshop (Photo 45). A full description of the workshop is only possible as annex 18.

¹¹⁹ Participants were self-selected. They included equal gender representation across different generations.

Photo 45. Day 1, 2 and 3 – Bogotá Mapping Workshop
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Before continuing I would like to reflect on how implementing the workshop at that time was extremely useful to me since it allowed me to understand how people, as subjects with

identities, represented, perceived, connected with, regulated and narrated their lived territory and their place-based dwelling practices, and how they lived in the hills with regard to Ecobarrio from their projections (aspirations) and spatial representations. Also, the workshop allowed me to be part of a scenario where institutions and community members negotiated and presented their (counter) arguments (discourses and knowledges), giving me valuable information for the contextualisation of the case within Bogotá's urban planning framework, connecting the institutional and local scales. Finally, the most important aspect was to have had my supervisor, Adriana Allen, in Colombia getting to know my cases and receiving her feedback. Likewise, it was important to have counted on Rita Lambert and Alex Frediani (DPU professors), whose support and presence enriched my process from several perspectives such as architecture, planning and geography.

It is also important to note that this was the first time that this type of experience, where supervisor and other professors go to the field with a PhD candidate, took place in the DPU, opening a new field for these dynamics in the PhD. Therefore, considering the importance of the experience and link to the DPU project, we published the article "Can Participatory Mapping Activate Spatial and Political Practices? Mapping Popular Resistance and Dwelling Practices in Bogotá Eastern Hills" in *Area Journal* (May 2015) (with my supervisor and the above mentioned professors). Participating in producing this article enabled me to consider mapping as a methodological tool and its scope through a collective academic reflection because our paper aimed to:

"...interrogate the capacity of 'participatory mapping' not just as a means to tap into plural knowledges emanating from specific geographies but rather to disrupt exclusionary constructions of space and place and the reproduction of the governing relationships that cause inequality. Thus, participatory mapping is understood here as a means to reproblematisé the process of knowledge production with respect to its visual representation and spatial understanding and to expand the room for manoeuvre of those typically disenfranchised from such process..." (Allen et.al 2015: 261).

Finally, in honour to the mapping workshop and its participants and as part of my ethnographic journey, I would like to highlight that this experience received an award as part of the Universidad de los Andes event 'Antropología Visible' (Visible Anthropology) in 2014 and it was published with other winning experiences in an e-book (<http://ebook.antropologiavisible.com/#pagina/3>).

After the reflexive parenthesis, I will continue with the story. Regarding the workshop's importance as an Ecobarrios second stage action, participants such as Norma, community

leader from Triángulo Alto and German, a young man from Manantial who actively participated in Ecobarrios from its beginnings, stressed that:

“The workshop was really important for us because it generated an unprecedented event as neighbourhood leaders and inhabitants sat at the same table to talk and try to solve our problems as community. From this the idea of creating the Ecobarrio Community Pedagogic Technical Committee emerged. The workshop helped us to re-build trust and hope, to re-appropriate our territory, to have an integral view of it. Concretely, it enabled us to establish a dialogue with the institutions about our rights through the presentation of these google maps within a context where the Mayor is developing participatory programmes and policies in our territories” (Norma, pc, 10/08/12)

“...it helped us to understand that projects such as Ecobarrios do not unfold overnight, they entail long term individual and collective processes ...but in our territory, we have all the potential to make it true, as we are already doing...” (Germán, pc, 10/08/12)

Therefore, this event promoted that circumstantial collective dynamics for coming together occurring at that Ecobarrio's moment, which strengthened collective work for the Ecobarrio in the territory. The latter gave rise to new individual, collective and institutional actions. At an individual level some adults (men and women) decided to start writing the neighbourhood's history since they realised its significance for territory appropriation and community cohesion. An example was Leonardo's case, one of the oldest native inhabitants in the territory, whose story will be revisited in section 7.2. Also, it allowed people's empowerment with regard to local knowledge of the territory's risk and the activities in place and those that could be implemented as part of the Ecobarrio. At the collective level, school teachers and some mothers approached me to enquire whether we could do an exercise similar to the mapping workshop but for children as part of the process to raise awareness about the Ecobarrio. This coincided with my previous plan to have a simple drawing exercise / map sketch with children as part of my methodology since I thought that it would be important and interesting to gather their perceptions as inhabitants of the place.

That is why, on November 27th 2012 we developed the proposed activity where participants¹²⁰ were asked to draw what they liked the most and least of their neighbourhoods and how they visualised them in the future taking into account their expectations (photo 46). I have been using information gathered from this exercise as well as from the workshop in the ethnography for characterising and analysing the case. However, it is worth highlighting that for many of them the place where they live (neighbourhood limits are not all clear to them, many do not know what neighbourhood it is) is 'ecological' (discursive category) because they live in a hill with nature and animals

¹²⁰ 15 children aged between 6 and 17 and from grade 1 to 4 of primary school took part. While they were drawing, I was talking to each of them about what they were doing and at the end I asked them to present their drawings to others.

around, which they like so they 'take care of and love them' (discursive object): "In my hill where I love to play and get lost because I always have an adventure and I can escape or hide from the violent" (Maria, pc, 27/11/12). Besides they consider that for their hill to remain in the future, they must take care of it and not throw rubbish, recycle and even sow, which is an activity that many like because it is fun at school and then at home, where they sometimes share it with their parents, uncles or grandparents. They do highlight that they do not want any more violence, or sad things but to live in 'peace and love' (discursive categories) with all living beings.

It was interesting to see how children who live and many who were born in the hill do not find it difficult to integrate these discursive practices with environmentalist influence to their life because the idea of looking after their surroundings, the animals and plants is part of their daily lives, and for many it is 'normal' 'because they are also living beings' (discursive object). Likewise, they have internalised the idea that they must continue this type of practices to help the planet; otherwise, we will destroy it.

Photo 46. Drawings by Triángulo children
Source: personal file Ome 2012





On 21st December 2012, Triángulo neighbourhood leaders (men and few women) established the Ecobarrio Community Pedagogic Technical Committee, another important fact at the collective level and a consequence from the workshop. A committee with inhabitants of all generations from the three neighbourhoods was an unprecedented event in the territory's history where inhabitants from the 3 neighbourhoods had never come together in a similar initiative. After that, the members of the committee legally constituted The Ecobarrio Community Pedagogic Technical Corporation in order to keep working together on Ecobarrios and similar initiatives that helped them to 'stay in the territory in a dignified way' (discursive object). Through this political event the members of the corporation started to feel 'strong and empowered' (discursive categories) because, according to them, they began to achieve a 'collective leadership' (discursive object) in the territory. Although, at the same time this generated new conflicts because some leaders did not want to share power and/or did not trust others and/ or felt excluded due to local power dynamics in the territory, 'based on conflict and jealousy' (discursive object), resulting in a collective leadership. With regard to general community integration to the process, the corporation members stated that they first wanted to consolidate a strong corporation and avoid creating false expectations based on weak collective leadership.

When I finished my fieldwork in 2013, and according to some people's comments, several individual, collective and institutional actions were still taking place. I will not elaborate on them since they occurred after I finished my field stage. However, I would like to refer to the following to illustrate the different types of actions. In 2013, IDIGER established the first 'Environmental Risk Managers Network' using Triángulo's Parcelacion (plotting) as a pilot case based on information from the workshop. The objective was to raise awareness within the community about risk and how to mitigate it and to start risk micro-zoning (which is what some dwellers wanted) with community participation. In order to do that IDIGER implemented Risk schools where people received information about risk and how to mitigate

it in their territory. IDIGER officials also took into account the local knowledge on the issue to include it in the risk schools.

In the same year, IDIGER completed the second phase of their intervention in Triángulo associated with the Environmental Recuperation of the area. IDIGER officials with the community built an ecological park and then the Secretary for the Environment developed the Environment's Re-naturalisation. Also, IDIGER officials took community's proposals regarding the map's future suggested in the workshop into consideration, such as keeping some plots for communal use as orchards. On the other hand, thanks to this partnership with IDIGER and within the scenario of POT Cabildos (participatory mechanism to socialise the changes to the POT and include community/citizens feedback –according to their needs and problems), the Ecobarrios Corporation asked them to retract the concept of unmitigable high-risk area. Furthermore, as an alternative they made the proposal to IDIGER to create a new discursive category to define risk: 'communities with high, medium and low resilience capacity to climate change' and IDIGER really liked it; therefore, they tried to include it in the new POT version. In addition, in 2014 Ecobarrios was proposed by district authorities and social organisations (by leaders like Hector) as an alternative model for inhabitants of the city's suburban edge within the framework of climate change and for the upcoming 'post-conflict' scenario.

Tringulo participants of the mapping workshop have also been invited to present the maps (based on grounded knowledge) at different scenarios. They were not willing to hand the maps over to institutions – which have asked for them – because they believe that information gives power, so they want to strategically manage it. Some of the Triángulo workshop participants (men and women) went to the Secretary for District Planning because they wanted to include Ecobarrios as a proposal for the eastern border policy. This group of workshop participants also attended a universities network meeting to identify the problems and issues that communities consider should be researched on the eastern hills. Finally, Triángulo dwellers participated in a mobilisation for Identity, Culture and Territory in the city as part of the Popular, Ethnic and Peasant Day on September 4, 2015 in Bogotá.

Within this framework, those who still advocate for Ecobarrio (men, women, young and elderly) state that they do so because they do not want to leave; 'their life and memories are tied to this territory' (discursive object), where many of them were born, and they like living here, 'hearing birdsong, the smell of the bush, fresh air, view of the city, place's beauty and being within close distance of the city centre' . Moreover, they understand that Ecobarrios is a long-term process which will bring about positive change and their territory with its

particular conditions makes it possible for them to work on building it or at least attempting it.

Thus, this description and analysis of the Ecobarrio practical history allows identifying how associated discourses, not as sets of meaning but as groups of ideas of which some can infiltrate daily life, and their diverse ways of appropriation, re-signification, dismissal and even rejection travelled in different ways through practices. In this way, distinct paths were generated, permeating, in some cases, the daily lives of those who appropriated and re-signified them, transforming or generating new hybrid – individual and collective discursive practices. These lent themselves to varying interpretations that depended on people's individual knowledge and particular interests, hence translated into diverse ways of living the Ecobarrio proposal and its ecological and political dimension – with (some) awareness and intention. In turn, this has generated a series of transformations focussed on construction of ecological and political subjects and identities that have transcended from some people and part of the collective in the territory to the city level.

Through these past, current and future discursive practices some Ecobarrio advocates in Triángulo (mainly men) propose and seek legitimising 'their inclusion in a neo-liberal model that excludes them' (discursive object) and being able to stay in their territory as eco-political subjects in process of construction that normalise their life through an individual and collective series of (ecological and political) practices. These practices aim at generating (and educating in) a series of daily habits, at home, school and common areas like 'saving electricity, water, managing rainwater, rubbish, recycling', so that they will 'take care of nature/environment and mitigate and manage risk' (discursive object). This has brought a process of change in representation of what people have in their everyday surroundings, and the hill itself, under the same hybrid discursive mantle as environmentalisms converging in the Ecobarrio.

Likewise, through discursive practices such as generation of and/or attendance at diverse action, participation and decision making spaces (where the ecological is also political) at (institutional and popular) neighbourhood, local and district level, Triángulo's Ecobarrio advocates attempt to construct themselves and be recognised, under the Ecobarrio flag, as eco-political subjects with capacity and opportunity for individual and collective action, mobilisation, defence and negotiation (associated with their territory and rights). Adriana, Manantial leader, said:

“development of or attendance at these activities served us very much both as individuals and collectively to learn to stand up for ourselves before entities, to negotiate, because we had to learn about everything from law, city development plans to sustainable construction, besides we met many people from institutions and that was very good for the proposal to be known and strengthened at different levels and to widen our contact network ...”(Adriana, pc, 06/12/12)

It is worth highlighting that continuity of these hybrid discursive practices in the short, medium and long term has been intermittent – volatile in some cases. These practices emerge and vanish (being re-constructed) depending on particular and collective moods and interests as well as context circumstances, with background of conflict, tension, struggle for power among leaders, violence and State neglect, under the social stigma of ‘poor’, ‘informal’ and at ‘unmitigable high risk’ (discursive categories). The latter has been explained by the initiative’s advocates arguing that the Ecobarrio is an on-going process and that what matters is that the territory and its inhabitants have the DNA to move it forward. Therefore, they have the necessary conditions to continue fighting to build the Ecobarrio in their territory because of its physical features (hill, forest reserve area) and human (local knowledge and daily practices).

Within this framework, these active eco-political subjects have sought to construct, negotiate and be recognised and associated with an individual and collective (dynamic) eco-political identity through developing and projecting a future of the described practices. It is about an alternative identity – hybrid – practical – (associated with environmental – urban processes) with which many have re-identified and de-identified at different moments due to different reasons such as they come from a ‘peasant culture’ (discursive category) and/or they have been born there. Hence, some belonging to the Ecobarrio said that they have some traditional practical knowledge, inherited and from experience, almost intuitive, associated with nature and a particular relationship with it, of ‘connection’, ‘love’, ‘commitment’ and ‘co-existence’ (discursive categories), from which certain type of activities derive. Some of these activities have continued in the city, due to territory’s physical features, re-signifying and legitimising their practice in the middle of such a context through proposals such as the Ecobarrio. Based on this initiative, some Triángulo inhabitants are proposing an alternative model in order to inhabit the city’s border, re-defining categories such as unmitigable risk.

Both those who support and take part in the Ecobarrio in Triángulo (mainly adults and elderly) and have this ‘traditional knowledge’ and ‘experience’ (discursive category) regarding ‘nature/environment’, because they were born and lived in the country / or in the territory, at least for a while, and those who have a different relationship, ‘more distant’ (as they say) with nature/environment because they were born or came to live in the city at an

early age (but who for co-existing in the same place have witnessed their application) awaken likes and interests and benefit from expert knowledge on the issue. Some, mainly men, have had access to this expert knowledge through institutional training and their own personal research in books or on the Internet, and have put it into practice as previously described. These practices are also hybrid as they combine different types of knowledge from distinct trends of thought and rationalities.

These counter (discursive) practices in turn also have emerged from a certain type of values shared by most of those who do not want to leave Triángulo. For example, children, young, adults and elderly hope for a future where they can stay and make their territory, the hills, a 'better', 'prettier', 'happier', 'cleaner', 'quieter' and 'more peaceful' place (discursive categories), where they 'all work together in community and live harmoniously with nature/environment and each other, building strong trust, communication and solidarity bonds' (discursive objects) through cultural, religious and sport practices (which most of them like). These practices have worked out as 'mechanisms of integration as alliance ways' (discursive objects) to at least mitigate conflict; and also as 'mechanisms for appropriation that develop or strengthen their sense of belonging to the place/territory' (discursive objects). Hence, these practices have given them the opportunity to re-signify and re-invent places labelled as 'of violence and hopelessness', which they perceive and describe through discursive objects as 'loaded with dense energy and desolate silence from sadness, hatred and suffering' (such as Corinto and the areas where suicides, rapes and murders happened) in order to turn them into places of 'hope', 'union', 'love' and 'solidarity' (discursive categories). They have done the same with their everyday objects (material culture), which they use in new ways or make them from different materials (recycled vs. cement and brick) in significant contexts (domestic and public), which are now infused with environmentalisms.

Hope, as a discursive category, is therefore connected to their capacity to 'aspire and dream' (in their own words). In this case, its meaning is related with the opportunity 'to have a future' so it becomes an incentive to continue living in the middle of adversity, preventing extreme situations like young suicides, allowing to build a 'dreamed and renovated Triángulo' (as one group was called during the mapping workshop). For some of the inhabitants of Triángulo (mainly men and women neighbourhood leaders) this capacity needs to be wisely managed as to not generate false expectations. Nevertheless, according to one of the oldest inhabitants and leader of Triángulo Bajo, 'Ecobarrios' gave them back "...the right to dream of a future in our territory, the desire to live a more peaceful life and to have goals for our own paths" (Leonardo, pc, 11/10/12).

The relationship with the place, territory and everyday life is evidently essential in all this ecological and political identity construction process. The connection with the place, territory and local level became more relevant given that Ecobarrios grassroots initiative emerged from a conflict over land use, for 'neoliberalism spatialisation' (as some leaders state) in this sub-urban zone, adjustment strip and forest reserve. Thus, some children, young, adults and elderly have developed and reinforced their roots, sense of belonging and defence of the 'tierrita' (which in some cases is so much like their 'terruño' –native land – in the country from where some of them were driven out) through activities as those described above. Some of the inhabitants, mainly the adults and elderly, argue that 'they do not want to leave and they have the right to stay because they were born there, because they have lived there for so long, because all their extended family also live there and/or because they already endured forced eviction'. So, they feel strong attachment to the hills, their smell, vegetation, views and silence. However, it is important to highlight that although at the discursive level Ecobarrio has aimed to unify Triángulo's territory and build an identity where there were no neighbourhood divisions and between 'invaders' and those who had come to work and live there, in practice it has not been easy due to stigmatisation of 'invaders' as not trustworthy by some dwellers and their leaders' interests.

The place perspective in this case gives account of how pedagogical places of change, like orchards, houses, schools, territory itself, are generated or re-signified under the influence of ecological and political narratives. Places where people through hybrid discursive practices, derived from the Ecobarrio, and shared learning and experience, transformed their individual and collective habits, participating in individual and collective change processes in the short, medium and long term. The latter also allows the construction of places that can be thought of as settings for contestation, for example with regard to re-settlement policies, allowing for Ecobarrio to be a mechanism to defend the place.

After this discursive-practical analysis I could interpret how practices described are the result of action dynamics by subjects influenced by neoliberal and eco governmentalities which have assumed their 'self-regulation' capacity and respond to the norm, to respond to urban governance techniques such as risk and of eco urban governance such as forest reserve areas (using government strategies such as cartography). The latter implies that the active subjects not only generate (counter) discursive proposals but also materialise them through the development or projection of place-based (counter) discursive practices. As counter proposals beyond the proposal, the idea is to generate alternatives, which aim at constructing (hybrid) eco-political subjects influenced by eco-governmentalities able to govern and modify their own behaviours, habits and awareness under (green) ideas from

environmental discourses. At the same time, these active subjects argue for recognition of a certain type of hybrid individual and collective eco-political identities from where they build or try to propel alternative discursive practices, using traditional and local knowledge in dialogue with technical – institutional knowledge (Miller y Rose 2008). The latter helps to generate dynamics where there is proactive response and resistance to authority, while questioning and re-formulating the norm from oneself and the group¹²¹. This also has prompted trajectories at local as well as district and city level.

The above can be interpreted as part of materialisation of (micro) politics of/ from place, of everyday life. In this case, thanks to diverse particular historical circumstances, the process associated with the Ecobarrio alternative proposal of resistance beyond protest, linked to the social process of the Eastern Hills Roundtable, has allowed for a series of (eco) political dynamics at different levels. For example, at the territory's local level design and implementation of the proposal have been led mainly by men while women who have participated primarily in the implementation have not had the same opportunity to participate in decision making processes. This reflects how gender issues permeate and influence politics of/ from place, in this case giving priority to male input.

In addition, implementing Ecobarrio has not been an easy, constant or homogenous process since it has been pervaded by pre-existing dynamics among the inhabitants, namely their conflicts. These conflicts emerged, for example, from quarrels between those labelled 'invaders' and those who arrived first to work at the old hacienda and farm owners. This has not allowed for smooth implementation of the Ecobarrio and it has faced many issues with the territory's inhabitants, particularly with male leaders who deep down do not want to share power collectively as they distrust each other. This interpretation is interesting as it reveals how these politics of/ from place – daily life (and even resistance) emerge in their real complexity (in the middle of tensions and conflicts).

Nevertheless, despite local power dynamics issues, Ecobarrio's implementation has managed to advance. It has been possible through construction of identity and cultural place-based strategies (derived from traditional and local knowledge and discursive practices), which seek to be legitimised through active eco-political practices such as counter mapping (of knowledge construction, representation and power), and can be interpreted as part of scale jumping tactics (Allen et.al 2015). In turn, these tactics have also

¹²¹ Facing a State that has not withdrawn (Foucault 1994) and under influence from welfare logics which stay, one way or another, in people's imaginaries in spite of reformulation of the State, market and society roles, and from logics of right to the city.

enabled negotiation dynamics (between different actors and rationalities) and a productive dialogue of the institutional and local scales, encouraging new political interstices and therefore, the beginning of a series of transformations. These tactics have so far come into contact with individual trajectories (as I will show in the next section) and collective, through concrete events such as the Ecobarrio being included in the development plan, receiving recognition at district level so that IDIGER started projects in the territory and even Triángulo neighbourhood leaders suggested new risk categories for the POT.

Regarding gender and generational issues, it is worth noting that they influenced implementation of the proposal and its discursive practices. In most practices, such as sports and cultural events and sustainable building activities, men of all ages tended to participate and lead more than women. Many female inhabitants, who were not leaders, said that their husbands or relatives did not tell them much about the Ecobarrio and that they found out through other female neighbours and expressed their interest in taking part. This type of event reveals the power relations between men and women in that context where women were excluded and relegated many times to staying home and looking after the children.

Children internalised the Ecobarrio ideas and practices more easily because, as teachers, relatives and children themselves explained, they effortlessly identified with these issues. For them, looking after nature in the hill, its animals, was something obvious and they thought it was logical to care for it to secure their future and that of their families. Moreover, it allowed to 'dream of a better tomorrow', one that gave them 'hope' to leave the difficult present many faced.

After a first approach to these dynamics and some Ecobarrio collective trajectories in action, it is worth examining specific individual trajectories to gain a more comprehensive idea of the proposal's discursive practical context at different levels.

7.2 Following eco-political subjects and identities through the narratives of Hector and Leonardo

Finally, in this section I'm going to explore excerpts from Hector's and Leonardo's (Triángulo Bajo JAC president) individual sub-trajectories (of the local trajectory), paying particular attention to the different individual dynamics and differences between what is said and what is done regarding the Ecobarrio. This aims to understand how the eco-political subject and identities construction derived from this proposal have been developed.

First of all, I chose Hector's life story to trace one of the proposal's main promoters and defenders and analyse how to put into practice what he exhorts about the Ecobarrio. Following the methodology explained in section 6.3.2, the participant observation and some post-fieldwork data (to which I had access since I have kept in touch with Hector), I focussed on a series of events in his life since 2009 (when I first went to the place of study) but especially from 2012 (when I did my fieldwork) to 2015.

When addressing these events I will be taking into account the discursive objects, categories and strategies he uses in everyday life to refer to the 'spheres of his life' and his struggle associated with the Ecobarrio. The first is related to domesticity and family life. From 2009 to 2014 Hector, Adriana (his wife) and their 2 children continued to live in Manantial with his brother and his family in their mother's house. As part of their 'ecological or environmental daily activities', even before starting the Ecobarrio and until 2015, urban agriculture existed (depending on the season). They started because of their own experience in the territory and because they had learned from many of their neighbours, who were peasants and knew how to cultivate the land and had vegetable gardens in their homes:

"... Those who most enjoy it [urban agriculture] are my children who love to play with the earth and are amazed to see how what we plant turns into food that they can eat ... so I take advantage to instil in them love and respect for nature through these types of consciousness awakening activities ..." (Hector, pc, 08/09/12).

On the other hand, when Héctor started to research Ecobarrios philosophy and activities in order to design the proposal, he learned a lot more accessing 'expert knowledge', as he said, from books and internet articles on vermiculture and composting, of which he had heard from his neighbours but about which he knew little. Therefore, he started to do these activities in his daily life as a means to enrich his agricultural practices. In his own words:

"Since I started this and also teaching them here at home, we all like it and the truth is it has become a habit; these days, as you have seen, we throw organic waste in a separate bag, then one of them takes it out and empties it into the container we have next to the vegetable garden, stirs it and covers it again and ... the kids love going to do this so they can stir it and make themselves mucky..." (Hector, pc, 08/09/12)

Another 'ecological' activity Hector and his family like and develop consciously is recycling. Adriana usually does this activity with the children as a game as she is the one who spends more time with them. Likewise, if Hector is around, they all do it or he will do it with the children and they also take advantage of any recycled materials to make decorations for the house or even costumes for the children at school. In October 2012, Esteban, the eldest

and who usually accompanies Hector in several activities, dressed up as an eco-house and he did his own presentation to explain his costume, according to "everything that I learned from my dad" (photo 47).

Photo 47. Eco-house costume
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Hector's family collect rainwater since before the existence of the Ecobarrio. The inhabitants have had to find different ways to collect water (from natural springs, wells, streams etc.) because the area's historical, cultural and natural conditions (lack of public services for a time) compelled them to. For this collection process, large bins, buckets and even plastic containers are used; this water is then used in the bathroom, to wash clothes and even in the kitchen once it has been boiled. Environmental awareness with respect to this activity was strengthened once Hector started 'the saga of the Ecobarrio' as Adriana puts it, because "we knew we were doing something good for the planet, consuming and using things in a responsible way" (Adriana, 14/12/12).

But perhaps one of Héctor's most important achievements that has materialised much of the Ecobarrio philosophy is the eco-house he built for himself, Adriana and their children in 2014, on a plot that belongs to Adriana's family in Triángulo Alto (see picture 48). This was built with bamboo, earthquake-resistant techniques and a rainwater management system. The idea for the future is to install solar panels, amongst other things. His brother continued to live with his family in his mother's house, which they are not willing to leave as it was so important to their mum and became a "material symbol of her struggle" (Hector, pc, 16/11/12).

Photo 48. Bamboo Eco-house
Source: personal file Álvarez 2014

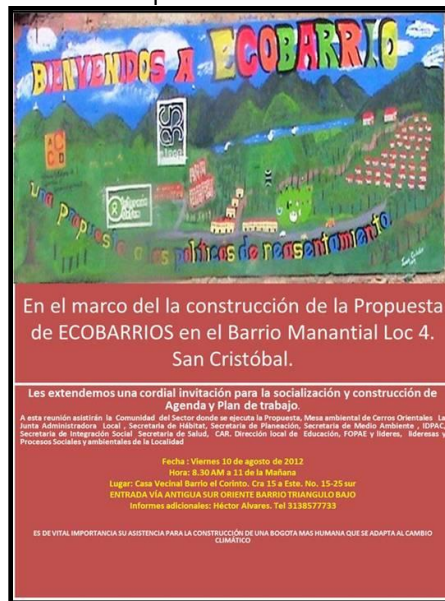


"The truth is we are all happy in our new home ... as you know, I do not want to leave the territory because of what it means to me and my family ... there were 3 key events in my life: my grandparents mistreated my mother and threw her out of the house with two children, so she lost her space; then she went to live with an aunt and was also evicted again and once more we lost our space and finally when she separated from her first husband the same thing happened ... so the meaning of my struggle is to fight for the only place that my mother finally managed to find and from where no one could throw us out, as she said before she died ... this is why I have taken on this struggle which has been a series of varied actions depending on the process. Sometimes it has been necessary to act more in the district to give the proposal visibility and then have gone back to strengthen the local activity through concrete actions to build credibility in the population."

It's because of all this that I want to stay and look after our mountain, the beauty, the silence, the singing of the birds, owls, nature, the view of the city ... The spirit of this place is not found elsewhere ... we humans do this with other living things, trees, animals " (Hector, pc, 11/09/14)

Secondly, Hector refers to the sphere of the collective, the local community for which he has been working throughout these years. He has sought to develop activities related to Ecobarrios in order to sensitise community members to the proposal for them to develop a sense of ownership. As a part of these activities he organised an event for August 10, 2012 so that together they could build the agenda and a work plan for the Ecobarrio in the Triángulo territory (photo 49).

Photo 49. Flyer Ecobarrios event – agenda and work plan
Source: personal file Ome 2014



"Through these actions, which I consider being political and ecological, and despite conflicts, instead of building an alternative development model, we have developed an alternative proposal to the city model, in whose design and development we have participated " (Hector, pc, 06 / 09/14)

As mentioned before, some community members do not support the proposal; therefore, presenting the territory as an Ecobarrio has become a controversial issue. Over time Hector decided to vary his discourse slightly, presenting the Ecobarrio as 'reconciliation strategy and to mitigate conflict' that is under construction. As a result, in some spaces, mainly district, where there are community members as participants, Hector refers to the Ecobarrio as a proposal for the construction of the city border by 'resilient communities' (discursive category) 'that adapt to phenomena such as climate change' (discursive object). He did this because 'resilient communities' and 'climate change' were two key topics during Petro's mandate as a Mayor and Hector wanted to make Ecobarrio more accessible to institutional language.

In 2014, due to process instability caused by conflicts between adults who often claimed not to understand Hector's tangled way of speaking, he decided to focus his attention on children and youth. He started working with them again as in 2009, because ultimately they are the Ecobarrio's future and he does not want them to grow up with inherited feuds from their parents or relatives.

Thirdly, Hector speaks of an urban or district collective sphere. In 2013, as part of the risk management network activities implemented by IDIGER in Triángulo (as a consequence of

the mapping workshop), he organised a peaceful takeover of San Cristobal's local mayor's office to draw the mayor's attention who had been very difficult to contact. As a result, Hector, Exelino, Leonardo and Norma (some of Triángulo's leaders) succeeded at creating a negotiation table with the district to prevent them from being evicted from the territory as it had been intended.

The fourth sphere would be the academic within which he attended several events throughout the years to discuss the Ecobarrio. For example, in 2012 we presented in the same panel for the Second International Seminar on Informal Urban Processes (National University, Bogotá). In 2014 he presented at an event organised by CLACSO; he also attended an event in Switzerland whose name he does not remember as it was in English and he was also selected as an exemplary city leader to attend the Bogotá 2025 workshop. This workshop's objective was to identify possible futures for Bogotá where different visions of society were included.

Finally, Hector refers to the institutional sphere where he has also carried out various actions as a representative of the community participating at the inter-institutional Ecobarrio table. Along with other participants of the mapping workshop, he presented the maps as part of the local Risk Management School to relate local residents' perceptions of risk and dialogue with the institutional officials and their technical knowledge. In 2014 he led a management activity in order for IDIGER and the Secretary for the Habitat to include Ecobarrios in the planning exercises for resilient communities as models for the occupation of city borders. This had two concrete effects in the territory. Firstly, the Urban Development Institute repaired 900 meters of the road which has made people very happy as it has embellished the territory. Secondly, in that same year, Hector and some workshop participants were convened by some district institutions to comment on the workshop as they were interested in replicating it in other territories of Bogotá.

In 2015 the IDPAC made a video of Hector called "You Have the Word", which explains the eco-house programme where citizens' actions are revealed and serve as an example for the rest of the city. Finally, Hector shared that in 2015:

"...someone tried to kill me. This political act mobilised many people and friends from institutions, neighbourhoods and so on ... furthermore, they insisted that I be launched as a candidate for the position of a local council member (edil in Spanish) in the upcoming elections in October 2015 and I accepted" (Hector, pc, 23/05 /15)

After this brief review of excerpts from Hector's history and everyday life, one can say that his discourse on the Ecobarrio has materialised in the different spheres of his life. In his case, this has contributed to his empowerment as an eco-political subject who was already in the process of formation since before the existence of the Ecobarrio (perhaps more political than ecological due to the peculiarities of his life¹²²) and who now seeks to legitimise certain eco-political identities as part of a personal and collective struggle for the place. For him, the development of such discursive eco-political practices derived from the Ecobarrio is part of his life's agenda as the proposal itself has become part of his personal struggle. This reflects coherence between his words and his actions, materialising, as he explained, in all spheres of his life. He does this in his role as an ecological/environmental conscious subject (and has even started studies related to this issue) and political subject for he has trained to be a neighbourhood leader. Consequentially, his room of manoeuvre covers several levels - which are the same with which he classifies actions in his personal life - where he expresses his connections with a conscious eco-political identity (individual and collective) associated with 'peasant knowledge' (discursive category) and "...experience that have given birth and life in this territory" (Álvarez, pc, 19/10/12) .

Thus, in order to put Ecobarrios into action, Hector, as a conscious active subject, has managed to open interstices and spaces of opportunity in which the various actors connect and enter into dialogue/ tension with the institutional and everyday discursive practices. He has also developed the pedagogical places of change through the activities promoted in the territory (at home and in community spaces). This may be associated with the influence of pedagogy for the oppressed where the territory is seen as a classroom, as a political space to learn through the experiences of everyday life (Pinto 2004). It is worth highlighting that each of these spaces that belong to eco-political action use different kinds of language (single or complex) and discourses according to their audience and the intent of the activities (which could be deepened as another area of more specific research).

Regarding the family sphere, Adriana (25 years old) in her role as Hector's wife reflects the gender issues present in the territory. It was not easy to interview her; in fact, she was one of the last interviewees in 2012 because Hector never suggested talking to her. Then, I requested his permission and he accepted. Both the interview and participatory observation allowed seeing that Adriana was not actively involved in Hector's "struggle" as I had initially

¹²² Such as the influence of the Jesuits and thus Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in his life. The objective of this critical pedagogy is that education becomes a political process in which each subject makes every space in which they find themselves, a political space, including the classroom. So both teachers and students are invited to build society together through the consciousness of everyday social problems. This allows students to construct knowledge as well as a political act and facilitates the transformation from passive to active subjects (Pinto 2004).

assumed. She explained that although she understood Hector's motivation to work on the Ecobarrio and the positive effects this proposal could have on the neighbourhood and its inhabitants, she was upset because he had put the Ecobarrio before his family and they did not talk much about it at home. Moreover, she often found it difficult to understand Hector for he used complicated terms. Thus, she supported him but was not fully involved in the process and had done as many other women in the territory and dedicated herself to her children and looking after the household. Adriana's case is a concrete example of the female role in the territory and Ecobarrio process: they were not as active or visible as men due to cultural issues where it was assumed that they had to stay at home with the children. However, their role was not less important because as children were their responsibility they were the ones to teach the discursive Ecobarrio practices and ensure they became habits for the next generation. Naturally, there were exceptions as some females became neighbourhood leaders and played an active political role in dynamics of/from place.

Thus, Hector's case and his family illustrate the roles different actors may play in the (micro) politics of/from place and how the Ecobarrio belongs to these strategies. Place and territory play a major role and become, as in Hector's case, their struggle's motor so that they can later associate with an identity and demand rights such as dignified housing. Associating place, territory, identity and rights is characteristic of the nation-state logic that has served at different times as an instrument of political action (Hobsbawm 2000). Hence, it is not surprising that Hector appropriates and implements this modern logic to demand his right to stay in this territory and not be evicted from this place.

Likewise, Hector's case also illustrates how many 'ecological or environmental' practices end up overlapping in discourse and action with 'ecological or environmental habits' (discursive category) such as recycling, composting, saving water to alter their daily behaviours. Thus, environmentalist discourses and perspectives like ecological urbanisation, eco-sustainable modernity, eco-efficiency and eco-urbanism have a significant impact on their lives. These perspectives and discourses from the institutional stance also seek to implement eco-technologies of the self to modify people's behaviour and thoughts, generating new habits and lifestyles as part of eco-governmentalities. Hector also appropriated and adapted ideas from the different sources he consulted and knew from institutional rationalities to demonstrate that (modern) citizens capable of 'self-control' and taking correct 'ecological or environmental' actions were formed in the territory. This enabled Hector to put forward an initiative against eviction from the hill: an alternative proposal to the neoliberal city model, which excluded them.

I will now move on to a short review of excerpts from the life story of one of the oldest native inhabitants of the territory, Leonardo (photo 50). Although I wanted to include a woman in this part in order to have a gender balance, it was not possible for the two oldest living native ladies to participate due to health problems. Therefore, it was easier to ensure ethnographic meetings with Leonardo (2 interviews in 2012 and the others in several contexts such as when he walked around the neighbourhood, at institutional events etc.). He was not so involved in the Ecobarrio in the beginning but has gradually become more involved. For example, he participated in the last mapping workshop and seemed to offer a profile contrasting Hector's.

Photo 50. Leonardo
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Leonardo, 70 years old, is a Triángulo Bajo resident, president of the JAC and is currently engaged in construction.

"I am a native ('raizal' in Spanish) of this territory, that is, I was born and raised here ... since childhood I worked in construction in the 'chircales' and brick factories of the area ... I had to because my dad died, so I could not finish school

I had heard of Ecobarrios in 2009, but as I was not part of the board and honestly I was not very interested but then I began to understand that they could be useful for the issue of legalisation which was something that I had been fighting for, for several years as well as the risk factor, I also fought for that and took legal action because what happened to the urbanisation here opposite in Yuste has always seemed very unfair to me; they felled 200,000 trees, they took half a hill and no one moved them out ... I got involved because of all of this ...

The idea of the Ecobarrio seemed really good to me because we have everything here, if you look carefully, this looks like the country ... and just like there, we are used to living with nature and learning from her ... I would even say that in one way or another we have always been ecological and perhaps even more so before ... for example, as a raizal, I knew this as a forest and for this reason we could collect water from the Chuscal creek that was better than the aqueduct as it wasn't full of chemicals such as chlorine which causes iron deficiencies; it was natural, pure...we also used to go exploring on the hill and we still often

do...you have seen me...since childhood I ran through the forest looking for moss and firewood for Christmas..and therefore I also learned to use many plants such as calendula, chamomile, eucalyptus, laurel and many other such remedies for the flu, aches, pains and for cooking...with time we also learned the importance of ferns and guativas to protect natural water, so it hurt so much when they knocked down all those trees here in front... many neighbours have also cultivated a little bit of the land and still do.. it's a pity that when the M19 arrived they destroyed much of the native vegetation and brought a lot of violence to a peaceful territory ...

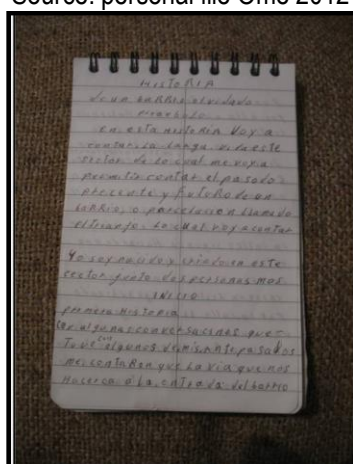
So that's why I like the Ecobarrio, because I've always been eternally in love with this place, with that beautiful view of the city and nature. I was born here and will die here, it's a shame that people today do not value this, preferring commodity dependent lifestyles ... I like that it helps me to remember, to raise awareness that we must respect, care for and preserve nature for our children and grandchildren and so that we reinforce the activities that we have always done or we used to do and fail to do anymore such as the processions, which were good for us not only as individuals but as a united community and for the hill ... also because it allows us to conserve the oldest houses, because if they don't throw us out there is no reason to destroy them and keeping them well maintained is very important to me because they contain history, memory of our territory ... it always gives me joy to see them ... furthermore, I understand the idea is also to build houses with ecological materials such as wood, that do not harm nature, like some neighbours who I helped have already done and I like this because it looks nice...another very positive thing about Ecobarrio is its quest to become once again, a single territory as the Triángulo like when I was born, we lived peacefully, united and in peace ...

For me, the term ecological means a variety of vegetation, to live with the song of eternal love for nature sung by wild birds such as blackbirds and owls, the greening of a creek as it returns to the currents of the clean water of the nearby stream ... it is related to the idea of living and feeling the harmony of the forest as we do here all day surrounded by trees, silence, pure air and the natural environment...so many people tell me that this is one of the healthiest areas in Bogotá ...

As part of being Triángulo Bajo's JAC president, I support the Ecobarrio which has now begun to actively participate in meetings with IDIGER, the Secretaries for the Environment, Habitat and Planning, the council and pre-council and the hills round table as a way to seek ways of being able to continue building on our territory and to get help with legalisation and the issue of resettlement. Likewise, these are activities that I have been developing throughout my life because I've always been involved in community and territorial affairs and the fight for our rights...

I also took part in the mapping workshop, which I found very interesting because apart from helping us to come together again and allowing us to talk with people and academic institutions about the issue of risk within the territory... and show the proposed Ecobarrio we are building ... it helped me to realise the importance of history and memory, memories of the territory not only for us adults but for the generations to come, so that they develop a greater sense of belonging to the neighbourhood ... so I decided to become the historian ... and I decided to start writing and re-building the neighbourhood's history of Triángulo's parcelling, taking into account my status as a raizal... the title of the text is 'The History of a Forgotten Neighbourhood' (Photo 51) "(Leonardo, pc, 08/11/12; 09/11/12; 10/11/12; 01/12/12)

Photo 51. First Page of the Document “The History of a Forgotten Neighbourhood”
Source: personal file Ome 2012



The general approach of some of the excerpts from Leonardo's life story associated with Ecobarrio allows us to observe the following: in his case the relation of the discursive practice regarding the proposal and his eco-political identification with it, came into play at the second stage of the programme, when he acquired his role as a neighbourhood leader. This due to his life experience, having been born and raised in the territory, his 'respect', 'care' and 'love' for 'nature' (discursive categories), allowed him to connect with the proposal which he understood as 'ecological/environmental' (discursive categories) in essence, not only at a discursive level but also at practical level. As he himself explains, many of the activities that were fostered were and are part of his daily life, his relationship with and knowledge of the place, the hill and the living beings that inhabit it. This led him to understand that Triángulo inhabitants had everything they needed to become an Ecobarrio, which Triángulo dwellers should do by 'strengthening ecological awareness' (discursive object), but that they also need to receive government support and creating the legal conditions for this to happen.

Therefore, I also identified with what he interpreted as the political nature of the proposal and the extent to which it offered a possible alternative scenario and negotiation conditions for issues of 'legality' (discursive category) related to 'the informal status of the neighbourhood' (discursive object) and 'risk' (discursive category) that were part of his struggle. This motivated him (as an active subject) to support and politically act in favour of the Ecobarrio management at the local and district level as part of the (micro) political dynamics of/from place. It is interesting to see how at a personal level, through practices such as the mapping activity associated with the proposal, a self-reflection process took place which in turn led Leonardo to identify the importance of history as 'knowledge inherited from ancestors' and visible memory and that these became mechanisms for the

appropriation and signification of the territory. It also made him a self-described historian for the place, giving him the means to collect and retell the past in a text that he has already begun to write. Moreover, this reflexive process enabled him to empower as eco-political subject, assuming this new historian role and assigning greater value to his local knowledge for being 'raizal' in the territory.

It is worth highlighting that Leonardo's case differs from Hector's in that his discursive practices do not reveal direct influence from different environmentalisms but rather from a logic that seeks to contest 'the neoliberal city model' (discursive object), as they define it, which excludes and aims to evict them. Leonardo primarily contests using his experiential knowledge of 'nature' (discursive category) and the territory since he was born there. This leads to a personal definition of 'the ecological' in his own terms, derived from living in the place and using it politically.

Thus, after having traced, from a few examples, how the discourses of this local Ecobarrio strategy travelled in practice, we can observe that complex dynamic occurred in collective and individual sub-paths, which naturally depend on the historical conditions of the place (place-making processes) and the personal conditions of the active subjects. Depending on the interests, social roles, local and technical knowledge, cultural background, attachment and connection with the territory and place, there was a variety of responses and social actions by the active subjects; for example, the appropriation, re-definition, transformation or rejection of hybrid discursive practices associated with this proposal, which, in some cases, resulted in the planting of the seed for the place-based construction of (individual and collective) eco-political active subjects with (individual and collective) hybrid place-based eco-political identities. We do not know what fruit this seed will bear in the long-term or if it will even sprout.

This, as part of a series of dynamics associated with the (micro) politics of/from place, reveals the importance of the role of the social actors (e.g. proactive leaders) both individually and collectively, and their empowerment. As well as the potential these dynamics have to open interstices in tension, but at the same time of opportunity and negotiation (e.g. the risk category) and social transformation at a personal, local and urban level. Although these transformations may often be 'silent or invisible', they are not meaningless.

Regarding urban environmental politics and governance, the exploration of practices in this chapter revealed that the Ecobarrio's local initiative is an example of the kind of proposals

that are emerging in Bogotá, by political actors that move between different scales and are part of environmental social processes. As noted, a development of this type of proposal is not linear, nor is it exempt from tensions and conflicts between the same members of the community. The volatile and changing development of these initiatives depends on the will of the people involved and the rulers on duty. As was identified in this case, thanks to the conjuncture with the government mayors of the progressive movement (between 2011 and 2015), where it was promoted a participatory governance working with the vulnerable communities, it was possible to promote the Ecobarrio initiative. Not only as a mechanism for relocation in situ, but also as an alternative proposal, by resilient communities, to inhabit the hills of the city, in the midst of a process of climate change and the promotion of an urban environmental governance.

Throughout this chapter, were highlighted several aspects that planners, government officials, members of NGO's and academics might take into account when designing, implementing and evaluating participatory projects, as part of these dynamics in urban environmental politics and governance. One of these aspects is the importance of traditional and experiential knowledge about territory, place, nature or the environment, the practices developed in it and technical topics such as the definition, delimitation and management of risk. It is essential to take this local knowledge into account when designing and implementing programmes, plans, policies and research. Since they are informed by knowledge based on experience and culture. This knowledge complements the technical knowledge in favour of the community, making them part of the proposals that affect them and depends on them to be successful or not.

In the case of Bogotá, it was interesting to observe, due to the arrival of several migratory waves to the city, due to the dynamics of violence, displacement and search for better conditions in the country, the presence of what the inhabitants themselves called the peasant culture. Which I consider to be essential in understanding the various logics that inhabit cities, since they bring new discourses and practices to urban contexts and mix, re-signify, empower or disappear in them.

The presence of this peasant culture in a territory such as El Triángulo facilitated the reception of a proposal like Ecobarrios, since many of the practices that this foment like urban agriculture, the treatment of organic waste, the use of medicinal native plants, Tejo and football sports, were already part of the daily lives of many inhabitants. Due to the fact that they were born in the country or in this territory, these practices were part of their customs and habits, so they felt identified, and many liked them. However, in other cases,

despite the influence of this peasant culture, people did not appropriate the proposal because of lack of interest, taste or could not make sense of it that must also be taken into account.

Likewise, the presence of this peasant culture and the fact that being born on the hill or having been born in another neighbourhood in Bogotá and then going to live in Triángulo, gave an account of the various urban natures in the city. This is because people have different ways of conceiving nature, environment, or natural resources (depending on the category they use), which is associated with factors such as the relationship they have had with it throughout their lives and their own interests. Therefore, it is also very important to take it into account when designing programmes, plans, policies or research associated with environmental issues in the city. In the case of Triángulo this facilitated the process for certain people, according to them both, they and the territory had the DNA to become an Ecobarrio.

Another important factor to consider is to include all members of the community in projects: children, youth, adults and the elderly. Since this facilitates the participation and therefore the appropriation of the plans, projects and programmes lead by them. It is also important to consider that people, from these neighbourhoods or territories in Bogotá, are not only interested in projects and policies that offer them specific concrete results in the short term. They are also interested in proposals that generate hope and give them the opportunity to dream with better tangible futures. Futures where they are included and defined as citizens with rights that can be part of the exercise of governance and where there are not so many conflicts between the inhabitants of the territory. Which, in the case of Ecobarrio was expressed through the eco-human dimension.

A very sensitive issue in territories such as El Triángulo with so many internal conflicts, is the management of financial resources. This was a topic for constant debate, which is why most people supported collective leadership, in order to mitigate these discussions and have a transparency in the management of money. However, they felt that even with collective leadership, it was important to maintain certain leaders who would help to give order to the processes. With respect to this issue of leadership, it is important to highlight the relevance of gender in the same way, since depending on the particularities of the cases, there are places like Triángulo where this role is associated more with men, despite women being interested. This is another delicate cultural aspect that must be taken into account.

In regard to participative methodologies that can be applied to design and evaluate these types of programmes, policies, plans and studies, we can find the participatory mapping and the sketch maps. Both were very well received by the people of Triángulo, since they could be part of the design and implementation of these, which facilitates their appropriation. For that reason, they were able to include their knowledge of the territory, put them into dialogues and negotiation with the various institutional and academic actors that they themselves selected and invited. This resulted in more real and inclusive maps and drawings of the territory, which allowed the micro-zoning of risk taking into account traditional and technical knowledge. In fact, the mapping workshop facilitated the subsequent implementation of the Environmental Risk Managers Network, developed between institutions and the community, as well as risk schools, the environmental recovery of the area and the construction of the ecological park. Even that favoured the community to propose to IDIGER the category of communities with high, medium and low resilience capacity to climate change and IDIGER liked it and included it in the POT. In the case of the map sketch exercise, a very interesting thing to observe was how the majority of the children did not have an awareness of which neighbourhood they live in, but only that they live on the hill, which allows the analysing of issues such as the conception of place, space and territory.

Finally, in relation to the multi-scalar analysis in this chapter several things were detected. What has been observed throughout the ethnography, the difficulty and complexity of this analysis when it comes to putting it into practice. This is due to the diverse relationships between these scales, the complex association of people with these, as seen in Hector's life story. However, through the triangulation of the information that I obtained through the life stories (which due to lack of time and personnel I could only do a few people), participant observation and ethnographic interviews with 46 people of the 4 neighbourhoods of this territory, I realised the following. Despite the complexity of applying this multi-scalar analysis, one way to facilitate it, not forgetting its complexity, is to zoom in on the various levels. Since this allows for understanding in greater depth, as to how these specific scales, without forgetting their relation with the others, the diverse actors from their different roles develop diverse types of representations and perceptions.

For example, in this chapter zooming into the local scale and everyday life (without disconnecting it from the other levels), allowed the observation of the importance of the place in this local proposal. Among other things, the Ecobarrio arises in this case because people do not want to be evicted from their homes, a territory that many saw births, deaths, marriages and children, or where they have spent many years of their life. It is also the

place, where people in their daily life reject or assume new habits or re-signify old, re-signifying their spaces, places and material culture that compose them, from the Ecobarrio perspective.

Also, it is observed how this discursive proposal raises the connection between place, territory, identity and rights, which is a characteristic of the nation-state logic and that has served as a tool of political action. However, at the practical level I observed that the neighbourhood limits are maintained for many of the inhabitants, as well as the distinctions between the invaders (from Triángulo Alto, Manantial and Corinto) and non-invaders (from Triángulo Bajo). This makes it difficult to construct a territorial identity based on principles of tolerance and inclusion.

Also, with this zoom in the place, it allowed for the understanding that although this one continues to be important, its construction occurs within the multi-scalar dynamics. This dynamic was observed through the design and the implementation of the proposal of Ecobarrios, where the actors from the place made use of scale-jumping tactics to be able to position it at various levels. Hence, it is necessary to still going into depth in the study of these multi-scalar dynamics.

In theory it could be said that we have reached the end of this urban ethnographic attempt to trace and understand the complexity of two paths: one institutional and the other local under the same 'Ecobarrio' label. It was complex work following the construction processes of place-based eco-political subjects with place-based eco-political subjectivities and identities which in turn allowed me to analyse what lay behind that label of Ecobarrio that may be so appealing but at the same time so confusing. There are still many issues to explore; for example what happened to the grassroots notion of Ecobarrios when it started to travel outside the local community through other interfaces with external actors, perhaps with selective meanings. In fact, that is what adds value to this ethnographic journey since it raises questions for further research.

However, I want to close not only this ethnography for my thesis but an important and momentous chapter of my life in a deserving way by presenting a series of reflections on this process in the following conclusion.

Conclusion

The end of an eco-political ethnographic journey or the beginning of a new one?

After travelling through this place based- urban ethnography, it is difficult to summarise such fantastic and enriching personal and academic experience in just a few words. Therefore, in the following sections, I will try to cover the main conclusions in terms of the research and its initial objectives. Also, I would like to reflect on and envisage new 'windows of opportunity' brought about by such journey for all actors involved (including me).

Ecobarrios and (eco) development planning in Bogotá, cities and planet Earth

This section reflects on various aspects related to the research objectives: the construction process of eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities through the production of place as embedded by the notion of Ecobarrios understood both as a district institutional programme and local resistance strategy – or local development alternative. Hence, I interpreted trajectories of my two case studies in light of the queries that guided my research and the theoretical and analytical framework that underpinned it. This with the aim to show how these reflections can contribute to a better understanding and development of urban environmental politics and governance in Bogotá.

Firstly, it is important to highlight that both cases are examples of diverse and complex trajectories of local – urban appropriation and application of environmentalisms in today's global context. A detailed ethnographic study allows seeing how these trajectories and its complexity depend on active subjects' actions and their particular interests in specific historical circumstances that condition how they develop and/or have access to diverse mechanisms that potentiate their room of manoeuvre in different ways. In some cases, this led active subjects (from institutional views -Carlos and Ana- and, on the other hand, from activism - Héctor) to develop proposals that shared a label: The Ecobarrio. The meaning behind Ecobarrio becomes compelling and appealing because it tries to solve today's society's, at least apparent, concern for the relationship between nature and city; at the same time, it is a voluble and mouldable category that may suggest multiple interpretations to solve that issue, adding to its appeal.

As a matter of fact, it was interesting to explore the construction of eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities from these place-based proposals. I could observe that although the two proposals had the same name (Ecobarrio), their discursive and practice content, albeit similar, it was not the same. In each case, the involved actors' dynamics for appropriation, interpretation and even rejection transformed this content in multiple sub-

trajectories. For example, in the programme's case, although it was Ana's idea complemented by Carlos and implemented thanks to Isabel as DAACD director, it transformed depending on interpretation, appropriation or rejection after the change of direction (and even before, from implementation by diverse functionaries). In turn, Triángulo was the product of Rubén, Héctor and Marco's idea constructed to respond to 'injustice in the city', but only Héctor ended up carrying this flag and inhabitants have implemented, rejected or ignored depending on their interpretation.

The latter suggests how complex and dynamic these trajectories and sub-trajectories are, strengthened and altered by both opportunity mechanisms and strategies (due to links and networks to which actors belong) and tension and conflict. As these subjects tend to be taboo, or for some too obvious, they are often put aside in academic or institutional studies, and I think that should not be the case if we hope to understand these contexts, even more so if we want to work on it and contribute responsibly and constructively from perspectives such as UA and UPE.

The complexity and dynamism of trajectories derived from Ecobarrio, which case materialises the appropriation of environmentalisms, was also characterised by hybridity, which thoroughly permeated these trajectories from the Ecobarrio discursive design to its practical implementation. The latter was reflected in the use of environmentalist discourses during design and implementation of each proposal as the process of subjects, subjectivities and identities construction did not occur as it might have been expected; that is to say, as the result of a top-down dynamic versus a bottom up. In the institutional case, the programme was not designed by functionaries who sought to create ecological and political subjects and subjectivities; and the local proposal did not emerge as a resistance direct strategy organised by a social movement with a defined ecological and political collective identity.

This type of urban anthropological work, from an UPE perspective, has revealed how this was (and continues to be) rather than a black or white process, a highly nuanced, complex and full of interstices construction. The construction process of subjects, subjectivities and identities had its share of comings and goings, encounters and disagreements, which did not set out linear but bifurcated, varied, multiple, deviated even failed trajectories through the different scales. The later led to a not fixed definition of what being an ecological/environmental and political subject with an ecological/environmental and political subjectivity or identity (depending on the case) based on place implied. It was about dynamic categories being defined and re-defined from construction and de-construction by

active (also political and ecological/environmental) subjects who promoted them and those who re-interpreted and appropriated, dismissed or ignored them.

For the institutional programme these categories were related to Ana's and Carlos' intention to help people to generate an ecological and spiritual awareness as part of the paradigm shift the planet currently faces (which evidently transformed along the way). In the local initiative, these categories were associated with Hector, Ruben and Marco's initiative to develop a proposal beyond protest and a resistance strategy in order to avoid resettlement and improve their living conditions. Hence, there lies the contextual particularities behind each case and which turned into a variety of ecological/environmental and political discursive practices both at institutional and everyday levels.

This also turned in a variety of technologies of the self and normalisation disciplinary discursive practices, that in the case of the programme sought to construct 'new eco-friendly citizens' and in Triángulo 'ecologically aware citizens'. In both cases these technologies of power, of the self and normalisation discursive eco-political practices were appropriated, re-interpreted or rejected by Lombardía and Triángulo inhabitants who re-produced, constructed or ignored them depending on their agency as individuals or collective in each particular context. Technologies and discursive practices that when made available influenced the ecological and political resignification of the spaces and places for some inhabitants, from their own houses to the neighbourhoods, cities and the planet itself while others did not even take them into consideration.

The above are complex dynamics as those suggested by post-structural UA and UPE, according to which in postmodern times subjects are facing a de-construction process of themselves and have started to re-construct from place-based individual and collective (ecological and political) identities using environmental discourses and their local/traditional/cultural knowledge as negotiation strategies or propelling mechanisms for social change.

On the other hand, the study of these two initiatives allowed for the understanding of a number of the aspects of urban environmental politics and governance in Bogotá. Since the last decade of the twentieth century, 'nature' (in its various conceptions) have become an actor that has increasingly begun to be more visible in city planning, as stated by Hernández (2011) and Osorio (2011). This has led to the development of diverse dynamics in urban environmental politics and governance, which are dependent on urban natures that have

been defined, re-defined and transformed over time by the various actors, depending on the power relations and their economic, political, social and cultural perceptions and interests.

This process has manifested itself in Bogotá in a variety of ways, both from the institutional framework and from the environmental social movements and processes, which are increasingly gaining strength and visibility. In this ethnography this is clearly shown from the example of the institutional Ecobarrios programme. This gave an account of a very particular, innovative and even contradictory approach within the same administration, regarding ecological management and citizen participation in the subject. This, in turn, has been a characteristic of the various district administrations, where different environmental norms and strategies, as well as participation mechanisms, have been discontinuous and contradictory in the planning and implementation of environmental programmes.

These contradictory dynamics of the use of environmentalisms and the different conceptions of nature from the institutionality, have made these urban environmental politics and governance become exclusive and unequal, this being spatially materialised. This was clear in the Ecobarrios programme, where informal settlements were excluded due to legal issues. This did not allow some vulnerable groups inhabiting areas of forest reserve or ecological importance for the city, to be part of these urban ecological discursive practices and be considered as eco-political subjects.

An example of a territory excluded from the official programme, which is part of the forest reserve area and the hills, is Triángulo. As we have seen, an Ecobarrios initiative was developed in this territory, as a resistance strategy, in response to the delimitation of risk from governmental institutions. The latter claiming that they should be evicted to give way to a new private urbanization, using the reserve area and high-risk unmitigable arguments.

The adoption of Ecobarrios from the popular sectors, is also a reflection of the environmental movements and social processes that have been strengthening in Bogotá over the years, which came in response to the development of these uneven urban environments and the conflicts that segregate them (Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2006). These place-based movements and social environmental processes, have sought to empower traditional, cultural and local knowledge (peasants, indigenous, Afro or the 'razales' of the territories), with respect to nature, territory and the definition of risk. This demonstrates the pursuing of participatory and inclusive environmental governance, which results in what the inhabitants of these territories have called ecological politics.

An example of this was seen in the Triángulo case where, thanks to the conjuncture movement, a progressive government interested in supporting vulnerable populations facilitated the construction of participatory environmental governance. This was also due to the fact that the mayor had government officials, who were aware of these environmental conflicts and the people they affected, because they were part of these territories or because they had done research on this.

Likewise, these environmental social movements and processes, as in the case of Triángulo, have developed various propositional and effective strategies, collective and individual, through institutional and informal alliances (among relatives, friends, neighbours, organisations, round tables, assemblies and others). Along with peaceful mobilisations with a symbolic character, pedagogical tours of the territories, creation of collective participatory mechanisms (such as the round table of eastern hills), judicial tools, development of different discourses and practices (such as Ecobarrios). These outcomes were achieved through the appropriation of environmentalisms, environmental education campaigns, the strengthening place-based and territorial identities, the development of collective leadership (without neglecting the importance of leaders), the formation and training of inhabitants, and the creation or strengthening of ecological habits, among other practices.

The rationale underpinning the above practices sought democratic and informed solutions to socio-environmental conflicts and demanded the rights of ordinary citizens to decent housing, to the legalisation of their neighbourhoods, sustainable alternatives of habitability, holistic risk management, pact of borders, conservation of ecosystems, among others. These alternatives were used in the logics that opposed development from particular economic interests, by reclaiming environmental territories (Hernández 2011).

This has contributed to strengthening the exercise of environmental governance in the city and opened new ways of doing urban politics. The later included new tools such as the generation of democratic, participatory and inclusive negotiation spaces between technical and traditional knowledge among institutions and citizens or those who want to be recognised as such. Also recognising places and territories not only as spaces that must be preserved and restored for their natural value but as spaces where social relations are built, struggles and collective projects are generated, which produce social inclusion and benefits for present and future generations. This gives a new meaning to the territories and ecosystems of the city, through the promotion of a territorial identity, the construction of citizenship and of environmental awareness.

In short, the previous discussion reveals how environmental social movements and processes, continue to make use of the association identity, territory-place and rights, that were established from the State logic, to demand justice and solutions to issues of injustice, urban social and environmental inequality. This association, however, is not always easy to put into practice, since in cases such as Triángulo, it was more reflected at a discursive level than practical, because of the same conflicts between the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods.

Thus, this urban ethnography from an UPE perspective has brought to light the fact that environmentalist discourses and practices are one of the scenarios where subjects currently work to change their immediate reality in the city. This is also due to development of an eco-governmentality that characterises current practical discourse and ends up fostering this type of actions. These actions, as observed in both Ecobarrios cases, are reformulating how people relate to nature or the environment, depending on their cultural contexts, particular life experience and influence from environmentalisms. These actions may also become political as they emerge in the shape of proposals for an alternative city model where popular sectors and their rights are included and recognised.

Therefore, the discursive, practical analysis and interpretation of the Ecobarrios programme, also revealed some aspects of interest on the topics of urban environmental politics and governance, which might be taken into account by planners, government officials, researchers, members of NGO's and urban settlers, for the development of policies, plans, programmes, projects and research. First, to understand that people have different conceptions about what nature is, so they use different discursive categories to refer to it (nature, environment, natural resources). This is not only mediated by culture and traditional knowledge, but also by a series of power relations and economic, social and political particularities, depending on the historical context. These natures should be taken into account and put into dialogue, for the development of urban environmental policy and governance, if they are to support participatory and inclusive approaches to help solve environmental and social conflicts in cities.

Another aspect that might be taken into account by the diverse actors is the fact that they are aware that with any type of programme, policy, plan, social process, (as seen in this ethnography), influence is exerted on the construction of subjects, subjectivities and identities in this case ecological, environmental and / or political. This have consequences within the dynamics of cities and the daily life of people (in their practices and habits), which brings to the fore issues of ethical interrelations.

Likewise, the people from the case studies in this research highlighted the importance of government officials being more humane in their treatment and having greater knowledge about the life histories, of their territories or neighbourhoods, their interests and traditional knowledge, for example regarding nature (derived from their peasant, indigenous, afro cultures). This will strengthen, (according to these inhabitants), the processes of urban environmental politics and governance, fomenting their participative, democratic, inclusive character while facilitating the design and implementation of policies, plans and programmes. Since the inhabitants of territories and neighbourhoods say, if they are not taken into account it is indisputable that these projects are destined to fail or not to work well. Many of the inhabitants gave the simple example that they did not understand how sometimes the district implemented programmes that took into account the scale of the UPZ, when the majority is identified with the neighbourhood or the territory or even geomorphologic units like the hill, but not with the UPZ.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that with the environmental social movements and processes that have been taking place in Bogotá, a new category of spatial identification different from the political-administrative one (UPZ and neighbourhoods) has been developed: the environmental territories. These are biophysical spaces, associated with ecological characteristics, ecological connectivity and social construction, based on the defence of the place, such as the Eastern Hills (Escobar 2001; Hernández 2011). This is important to take into account to understand precisely their relationship with the place. The inhabitants also stressed the importance of being very careful with the management of financial resources, for which they advise to implement collective leadership at the community level, which encourages the monitoring of the use of the same, to avoid internal conflicts.

The analysis of the Ecobarrios programme and local initiative also highlights the value of considering the development of a spiritual dimension (called eco-human in Triángulo) for future projects associated with environmental and/or ecological issues, more so in post-conflict times. As explained by those responsible for implementing the programme in the 143 neighbourhoods of Bogotá and the residents of Lombardía, this was the most important dimension for them. Although many re-interpreted it using their own beliefs, it allowed to improve their treatment and that of other living beings, not just humans, through strategies such as forgiveness and reconciliation.

Another aspect to take into account is gender, in issues such as leadership. The case of Lombardía reported on the importance of continuing to work on the empowerment of

women, adolescents, children and the elderly, to promote their leadership (as in the case of Fanny), participation and allow their voices to be heard. In the Triángulo case, due to cultural themes, the leadership is still more associated with the role of men, although obviously women are gaining a place and recognition in it. This also leads to conversations about the potential of further promoting collective and shared leadership, as manifested by several of the people involved in this research. According to these people, this dynamic allows a greater participation of all the inhabitants and appropriation of the processes which ensures their sustainability over time. This collective and shared view must work with and for the collective so that it will not prevent development of collective initiatives. The implementation of this may not be easy, as in the case of Triángulo, however despite the internal conflicts in this territory, its implementation brought many benefits for its residents, as they themselves stated.

It is worth noting that the development of this shared leadership does not imply de-emphasizing the role of leaders. The role of these active subjects as leaders for sustainability of these proposals, not only at neighbourhood, local level but also at inter-scale and inter-sector levels (city, country, community, institutions and academia) is crucial. As observed in these cases such subjects constructed a series of strategic networks and links at diverse levels, founded on their own personal processes and qualities such as charisma and perseverance. These allowed them to move through them, taking advantage of the windows of opportunity, as opened by eco-governmentality, which aims to empower them through technologies of the self, to activate or be part of transformation and social change processes at neighbourhood, urban, national and even international levels.

Thus, leaders such as Hector, Leonardo, Exelino and Norma managed to get Ecobarrios included in the Development Plan or that as part of Ecobarrios, new projects were developed in neighbourhoods. For instance, Fanny and Hector received invitations to give counsel on implementation of this type of proposals in other countries, attending and presenting them in academic, institutional and local events. Leaders became key figures to connect the different scales and for people to act individually, collectively and consciously as part of dynamics of politics of/from place, which were evidently very active despite global dynamics.

Finally, for all those in Colombia and different countries (such as those listed in the introduction), who have already developed Ecobarrios (or are interested in doing so, either as an institutional programme or a local initiative), it is important to highlight there is no

recipe to define the Ecobarrios programme, because it would depend on the context of development.

After these general reflections in regard to the cases and their contribution to a better understanding and development of urban environmental politics and governance in Bogotá, I present another series of reflections for future research.

New windows of opportunity for future research

My purpose with this section is to make some reflections more focused on people of the academia, with respect to themes, theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches, for future research derived from the themes dealt with in this ethnography, associated with urban development and planning studies.

With respect to the theoretical and methodological tools used in this research and that could be useful for the development of future studies, I could say the following. In theoretical terms, carrying out this urban ethnography through the UPE lenses allowed me to draw conclusions regarding application of environmentalisms in urban settings and their consequences on city political and ecological dynamics. Ecobarrios as institutional programme and Triángulo's Ecobarrio proposal permitted in depth exploration of aspects common to UA and UPE's current studies, to which I referred in section 1.1. These aspects also allowed approaching new alternatives to development and planning emerging from common citizens as part of this pivotal moment of paradigm shift to which post-colonial representatives like Escobar refer.

Likewise, the application of this anthropological approach from UPE, with the influence of post-structuralism, allowed me to analyse the relationship between culture, environment and politics. Such perspective is powerful to interpret scenarios where through local and alternative proposals such as Ecobarrios, Ecovillage and others, power struggles over meanings and practices of nature unfold. Historical contexts, where nature is also an ontologically ambiguous term, which implies a cultural and political construction of the non-human environment that is produced through everyday practices. Scenarios where cultural becomes political, and therefore, analytical attention is directed to technologies and mechanisms of power that work to legitimise (and delegitimise) particular ways of relating to the non-human (Escobar 1999; Grove 2009).

The application of this post-structural approach to UPE might also be useful to understand how these new alternative proposals to the capitalist, modern, market system and

development, are using hybrid strategies. These strategies are re-defining the meanings of nature, culture and identity, as a mechanism for the defence of the place, within a series of dynamics of power relations. Therefore, the application of these types of theoretical positions can bring many benefits for the study of this type of dynamics. However, the idea is also to continue exploring how other approaches, like actor network theory, can bring new ways of interpreting these phenomena, since for this in particular the social is not only human, but also includes other agents such as nature, things and others (Dolwick 2009).

With regard to methodological tools, I consider as an important factor for future studies to use an interdisciplinary perspective. In my case, from my urban ethnographic approach, I used tools such as life stories, participant observation, focus groups, participatory mapping derived from various disciplines such as geography, history and anthropology. These allowed me to have a first hand approach to the analysis of the complexity of multi-scalar relations from the place. In this research, due to limitations of time and personnel, I could only apply techniques such as life stories with a small number of people. However, the idea was to give a sample of the type of analysis that should be done, using different techniques and diverse lines of evidence, to have a better understanding of this complexity through the triangulation of gathered information.

Therefore, having a small number of informants for life stories, I complemented this by participant observation and ethnographic interviews with government officials and residents of the neighbourhoods, which involved several meetings (annex 3, 12, 15 and 17). This helped me to have an overview of the situation and give a sample of it. However, the idea is that this serves as an example to apply it on a larger scale and with greater representativeness in future research.

Also, I consider relevant the application of this urban ethnographic approach, since on the one hand it allows for the carrying out of a detailed analysis of daily life, of the representations and perceptions of the people, to understand how and why the movements and urban social processes arise, how the informal networks are constructed within them. It can also be applied for the study of the design, implementation and evaluation of institutional programmes, policies and plans. Something very interesting in this study was that although a political ethnography was not developed as such, there was an important influence of this on it. This made it possible to take into account the other side of the coin of the Ecobarrios analysis, the face of the people behind the labels of government officials. This allowed me to understand very important things such as the unofficial history of a hybrid programme such as the Ecobarrios, the reason for its emergence, approach,

perceptions and representations, along with the use of certain environmentalisms that raised this paradigm shift. Given accounts of how plans, programmes, policies, grassroots projects and research like mine have their own life stories, which are often not found in books or documents, should be taken into account in order to understand them in their integrality.

This helps to de-naturalise these programmes, plans and policies that normalise our everyday, giving their study a more human sense, expanding the official history's to the untold story which is as important to understanding them in context. This will permit to take into account past or current experiences and learn from them to improve or imitate them. This happened to Bogotá's Ecobarrios, where for implementation in 2012, thanks to on-going research like mine, they took into account that a similar programme had taken place 12 years before and they searched for related information. Thus, an inter-institutional table was established where all actors were included and that programme's designers (Ana and Carlos) were invited.

It is then observed how the application of this ethnographic approach, through field work and participant observation, can be useful in future studies, as allows generating intellectually productive interfaces, accessing first-hand information, inaccessible through other evidence lines such as books and documents.

Likewise, this methodological approach grants understanding of complex social realities; their diverse layers, multiple relationships and tensions, making evident the complexity of cultural meanings and values through every day places, actions and narratives. In turn, these reveal the existence of diverse discursive logics (for example, local and institutional), and interscale dynamics such as cultural hybridisation, typical of our times, where places play an active, not a passive role.

Furthermore, developing this ethnographic approach generates spaces for dialogue, negotiation, even hope, thanks to trust bonds and links constructed, which may be very positive to work with communities that have a history marked by conflict and the 'no future'; such as Triángulo's. These spaces were places of catharsis (and not just for the community but also for government officials), which they said it was highly rewarding to have someone interested in their lives, to be heard and to be able to tell their experiences, including joys and sadness.

With regard to ethnography practice as such it is important to make the following suggestions from this fieldwork experience. If we really want to make democratic and participatory planning and processes, we need time to build trust and bonds with people and also to know their context and situations (even more so if the researcher is not from the country and/or city of research). These processes require trust and charismatic relationships where there is mutual understanding between equal humans. As academics, we should also implement some kind of anthropological – human and spiritual approach to research (that respects all living beings and their needs), taking reasonable time to explore their realities.

Therefore, it is important to reconsider brief immersions in the field, particularly in places and countries new to the researchers. Around the world this type of projects have not always occurred in the best possible ways, or they have even failed because of lack of a true understanding of the particular context researched and its people's actual interests and needs (Pérez 2012).

Staying for long periods in the field may be is not the best option but a balance must be found. Anthropology is trying to find solutions for this because, contrary to common belief, ethnography is also constantly changing as society is evolving in these new rhythms and tensions between 'globalisation and localisation', 'de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation'. Consequently, flexibility is another important factor to bear in mind on the field, especially in urban contexts where changes and the unexpected common place such as security conditions.

It is also essential to track the process that we accompanied or fostered as part of our ethical responsibilities. For example, I have continued to do so and it has enabled me to collaborate with dynamics derived from exercises such as mapping to follow up on results from the workshop and what happened after my fieldwork. This has allowed them to build self-confidence and independence, for example, with map management at the same time as we all learnt life lessons for future projects. Finally, with regard to practical issues posed by ethnography, it is essential to have field assistants who have experience with the study's subject matter since this enriches the reflective exercise in the field and interpretation of information gathered.

Additionally, Triángulo's mapping exercise confirmed its potential within this inter-methodological (and interscalar) context since it complemented it in a very productive manner. This made it not only a counter-mapping exercise but also a space for political action, negotiation and participative creation of fairer alternatives for this territory (with all

actors in situ). It was also a space for reflection and learning for every actor, leading IDIGER participants to demonstrate a critical and reflexive interrogation of the way knowledge is produced within their institution, for example. Furthermore, inhabitants of these neighbourhoods realised how important it was for them to activate their aspiring capacity through exercises such as these that promoted a projection of future and hope. Also, it enabled them to assume the past as a territory appropriation strategy, as expressed by one of the residents: "now, we don't only have a map, but also a sense of our history" (Leonardo, pc, 09/11/12). Such was this exercise's importance and learnt lessons that, with the support of my supervisor and DPU professors who accompanied me in the field, we published a paper, where this type of reflections are presented in a more detailed manner (Allen et.al 2015).

Regarding the analytical tools one could say the following. Eco-governmentality was a really useful analytical tool in this urban ethnography to explore the effects of different environmentalisms in cities and their place-based political dynamics. Used from an anthropological perspective, the eco-governmentality lens allowed for a deeper understanding of the complexity, hybridisation, tensions and different trajectories and sub-trajectories of the construction of eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities in the Ecobarrios programme and the local initiative. The application of this tool enabled me to observe in both cases how new forms of governance are being developed and constructed, constituted of new technologies of power and of the self and new discursive practices based on different environmentalist discourses, not only by the State but also by a wide variety of agents. Besides, these new forms of governance are hybrid, evidencing influence from several environmentalist discourses and other forms of governance such as the neoliberal, depending on each case's particularities.

Another important analytical tool was the multi-scalar analysis. In my case the implementation of this type of analysis was not easy, since as it observed the relationship between different scales is not as obvious as it seems. Therefore, I consider it relevant to continue exploring strategies and methodological tools that allow us to deepen the analysis of these interrelationships and the complexity of them. However, I can say that my idea was to give an example, of how this type of analysis could be carried out from the place, without losing sight of it in the complexity of the interrelationships with the other scales.

I am aware that I could have gone further into the multi-scalar analysis, if I would have had more time and personnel. However, I consider that this thesis give an example of what could be done, without ignoring the limitations of my own exercise, which I consider as a

first approach to a topic such as Ecobarrios, which had not yet been studied in this way or from this approach. Hence, throughout the analytical chapters I was making clear the research options that can continue to be carried out from this first approach to the subject, including refining the multi-scalar analysis itself. In this first approach, where I emphasised or zoomed in the place, since I was interested in understanding how these ecological and/or environmental global and urban dynamics, landed and were interpreted from the neighbourhoods, territories and their inhabitants. Which was something that did not allow saw clearly for the complexity of this multi-scalar and multidimensional dynamics. But at the same time allows us to understand how this limitation should be taken into account for future studies and how in global dynamics such as the current emphasis on the place (as that space that integrates the social and environmental, crossed by global, regional, national and urban) is still important.

Regarding the presentation and writing of the documents of the investigations, I consider that these should use language accessible for every reader – specially, people like the inhabitants of neighbourhoods such as Lombardía and Triángulo who make these projects possible. It is a challenge and many people will not agree, but to work on and construct new life alternatives in the world, academia, institutions, NGOs, and people in solidarity and participation we must develop discursive strategies that at least allow us to understand each other.

In this ethnography I attempted to build linguistic bridges between actors but it was a challenge due to my “academic structures”. I emphasise that it is something on which I want to continue working due to the challenge and since many people from these neighbourhoods who collaborated with me expressed their interest in reading my dissertation or any document derived from it.

With regard to future research I consider that there is still a vast field for study, bearing in mind that Ecobarrio is a process under construction. For example, influence and co-opting of environmentalist discourses at the individual level and on leaders’ lives could be explored further to find out how they continue to employ them as part of empowerment strategies in political roles and room of manoeuvre at the several scales associated with city planning. Analysis of sub-trajectories of these place-based eco-political discursive practices in daily life and their possible political empowerment could be relevant at neighbourhood level and its inhabitants. With regards to the collective, studying how the Ecobarrio process may strengthen their bonds or whether its construction will continue in the midst of conflict and tension of local power dynamics.

City planning could offer a field of research of the proposal's journey from the institutional level and urban social processes to establish its probability of replication as sub-urban habitability proposal by resilient populations in climate change contexts, as it has been presented by Eastern Hills' dwellers in the last few years. In consequence, I consider relevant to focus on studying programmes, development plans, public policies that are at present defining or are generated for city planning. In some cases, these use environmentalisms and focus on planning bio-diverse and ecological cities (as it happened in Colombia¹²³, Chile, Argentina and México).

Likewise, it would be interesting to focus on the study of movements, social processes and collective actions associated with environmental issues, which are emerging both in cities and in the countryside. The idea would be to understand how and why proposals such as Ecobarrios, Ecovillages, Agro-Ecological movements, among others, are emerging in countries like Colombia, México, Argentina, Spain, India, Chile, Brazil, USA, Thailand, Germany, Australia, UK, Italy, South Africa and others. Study why they are called alternatives to modern, capitalist and market dynamics, that emerged from the defence of place and territory. Understand their micro politics off/from place, their (also hybrid) cultural and identity strategies, their use of knowledges and practices that are more harmonious with nature and other living beings to offer new ways of understanding and living on the planet. This with the aim to understand these alternatives, which aimed to offer new sustainable options in the face of structures, systems and institutions that have ruled and defined our way of seeing the reality of relating with our surroundings and others, and of cataloguing ourselves in a particular manner. This system is evidently entering a crisis or at least staggering.

More specifically, I would like to investigate how all the proposals mentioned above are pointing towards the paradigm shift, to which Ana and Carlos referred. Academics around the world (such as Escobar, Latour, Maturana, Mignolo, Varela, Shiva etc) had been exploring this topic from schools of thought such as deep ecology, spiritual ecology, bioregionalism, spiritual science, awareness and spiritual studies in several worldwide renowned universities. As they expressed it, it is still an emerging concern with shades of taboo not only in academia but also in general, so they seek to establish those bridges that were destroyed, buried and turned into dichotomies between science and spirituality and man and nature several paradigms ago. They also stated, and I agree, we need to uncover

¹²³ In Colombia, efforts to build bio-diverse cities are still shy. Only in 2000 did cities start to look at nature. Bogotá and Medellín are the only ones that have adopted the Biodiversity National Policy. The task today is to revert these activities because every year extreme natural phenomena such as floods, forest fires and droughts are nature's reprisal" (Baena 2015)

and reconstruct them, or at least explore them, at moments such as humanity face today. A pivotal moment of transition and spiritual change in human history, in which it is necessary to reflect on the current western paradigm. It prevails and has led us to this complicated situation typified in several studies as having one of the most ill societies inhabiting the planet and which has caused the most damage in record time due to accelerated industrialisation and technological development processes that are focussed on destructive mechanisms in the name of 'progress'. This is also due to our internal disconnection (in spiritual not religious terms – due to our modern self-centred ego) from other humans and living beings (Aparicio 2010; Leff 2010; Macy 2013; Escobar 2014a).

Consequently, diverse proposals have been constructed from approaches such as post-development and post-colonial¹²⁴ ones that raise the need for changing of not only conversation terms from economic development to sustainable development, but also its conditions. This implies that the expert vision (reason, science), which has until now defined particular perceptions about what to do from its epistemology, is now questionable. It is no longer considered the only but one of many possibilities, suggesting transformation of the power and knowledge regime to build a new (discursive and practical) paradigm (Aparicio 2010).

As part of the joint process of this new paradigm, they propose the study of pluriverse relational ontologies, of those other ways of feeling/thinking with Earth (*senti-pensar con la tierra* in Spanish), both in rural and urban contexts to understand them and get to know their proposals. In order to do this, it is paramount to understand that in the same way that these pluriverses, including the modern paradigm, co-exist as part of a transition moment, they are to be studied in all their complexity in the middle of hybridisation scenarios. Naturally, all the above implies great professional and personal challenges, as noted by these authors, but I would like to take them.

In this scenario, I can say that it is interesting to be part of this challenge and collaborate as a human in the construction of these new alternatives that will allow us to continue inhabiting this planet, ultimately our home, in more harmonious and spiritual ways (in the widest sense). I consider important to act from respect and unconditional love for all pluriverses (including the current paradigm), and peacefully, without violence or rejection of any, understand them in their dimension and taking from each the best. City scenarios are the present preferred way of settlement, where the most people are, and probably the best way to start contributing to this transition time and of infinite possibilities may be from there.

¹²⁴ It is important to highlight that I acknowledge the different intellectual genealogies, conceptual orientations and political commitments of the schools of thought mentioned (including that ones in the previous paragraph). Therefore, one of the ideas for future researches is to explore them and analyse these differences in order to have a better understanding of their encounters and disencounters.

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ANNEX 1

Primary and secondary sources revised – Institutional phase, Ecobarrios Programme

Source	Name	Location	Years
1. Newspaper (Physical and digital formats)	El Tiempo	National Library – Bogotá	2001 – 2003
2. Newspaper (Physical and digital formats)	El Espectador	National Library – Bogotá	2001 – 2003
3. Newspaper (Physical format)	Hoy	Archives institutional actors	2001 – 2003
4. Newspaper (Physical format)	Accion Conjunta (DAACD newspaper)	Archives institutional actors	2001 – 2003
5. Institutional archives	Ecobarrios documents, flyers, pictures.	IDPAC	2001 – 2003
6. Institutional Employees Archives	Ecobarrios documents, flyers, pictures.	Employees houses	2001 – 2004

ANNEX 2

Interview Questionnaire

Date:

Name:

Institution:

Position:

Email:

Phone:

I. Ecobarrios Programme (definition, general characteristics, planning discourses)

1. How the idea to make an Ecobarrios programme emerged? Why Ecobarrios?
2. What were the objectives of the programme?
3. What is an Ecobarrio? How you define it?
4. Do you think that the political context of that moment allowed the implementation of a programme such as Ecobarrios? If yes why?
5. What type of city model you were trying to implement with a programme like Ecobarrios? (Environmentalism or/and neoliberal influences, etc)
6. Why Ecobarrios programme was developed on those neighbourhoods and not other ones?
7. Do you think the results of the programme were as expected? If yes or no why?
8. Have you followed the development of the programme?
9. Why do you think some neighbourhoods continued the programme (without funding) while other ones not?

II. Ecobarrios and OSP

1. How was the relation between Ecobarrios and OSP?
2. How was the transition from OSP to Ecobarrios?
3. What was the objective of OSP?
4. What is the difference between OSP and Ecobarrios?

III. Ecobarrios – subjects, subjectivities and identities

1. What you were expecting from this programme in terms of community and from people?
2. Did you were expecting that people developed some type of behaviour or identity (that they identified with something in particular – activities, discourses)?

IV. Spaces – Ecobarrios places and practices

1. When you designed the programme did you think in the spaces or places of Ecobarrios?
2. When you designed the programme did you think in the activities related with Ecobarrios?

VI. Case study - Lombardía

1. Did you remember some of the neighbourhoods that implemented the programme? why?
2. Did you remember something about the case of Lombardía?

VII. Case study – San Cristóbal

1. Did you remember something of San Cristóbal locality in terms of:
 - Context (characterization)
 - Community (characterization)
2. What do you think about the fact that in some neighbourhoods of San Cristobal Sur Ecobarrios are being used by the community as strategies in order to avoid being resettled?

VII. Closure

1. Did you believe there is someone else that I should talk regarding this programme?
2. There is something else that I should ask or know?

ANNEX 3

Interviewed employees – Institutional phase, Ecobarrios programme

Name	Institution	Job	Number of Encounters
1. Antanas Mockus	Bogotá Mayor	Mayor	1
2. Isabel Londoño Polo	DAACD – (2001 – 2003)	Director (first period)	1
3. Clemencia Escallón	DAACD - (2001 – 2003)	Director (second period)	1
4. Carlos Rojas	DAACD (2001 – 2003)	Advisor (in charge to implement Ecobarrios)	1
5. Ana Maria Aristizabal	DAACD - (2001 – 2003)	External advisor (in charge to designed Ecobarrios)	1
6. Leonel Narváez	DAACD - (2001 – 2003)	Advisor – spiritual dimensión	1
7. Alina Choperera	DAACD - (2001 – 2003)	Advisor – Social and Economic Dimension	1
8. Paula	DAACD - (2001 – 2003)	Advisor	1
9. Leonor	DAACD – (2001 – 2012)	Secretary	1
Total			9

ANNEX 4

Excerpts of the ethnographic interview conducted with Dr. Antanas Mockus on 20/06/12. I divided the transcript in accordance with the areas of interest for my thesis.

The hybrid approach (discursive) of government programmes and the Ecobarrios (Eco-neighbourhoods) programme.

"My government programmes were based on a very important premise: education and the regulation of behaviour is the basis of productivity...I believe the role the education system plays is very valuable to raise awareness and prepare children to change behaviour."

"In terms of the issue of taking responsibility from the state and passing it to the citizenry, it is difficult to do if the average citizen isn't prepared to take it on...there lies the importance of promoting social capital, local management capacity, resource management and creating consensus at the local level...but from the State itself..."

"Before Isabel proposed Ecobarrios I had been working with the OSP experience which had been very successful...in the first government programme I proposed that we aim as much as possible for a pedagogical balance of government... OSP was carried out during the first management between 1995 and 1997...in order to operationalize it we asked the JACs to nominate young people for an action-training process...in groups of 10 they worked on their project and later had to present it amongst themselves and decide which was viable...they prepared an interaction with the community, they had to make an agreement with the community. In this way they made access ramps, bathrooms and fixed football pitches...something that the community chose as the best option...in which it was very important that the work was done as an evidence of the acquired capacity in participatory planning and carry out the project...but the most valuable and final objective was the pedagogical balance...these young people have been very active in the decentralization process of the city, presenting projects in the localities and obtaining financial resources..."

"When Isabel brought in her Ecobarrios idea it was clearly attractive...it was much more integrated, included various dimensions and had a very interesting gender equality approach that very much got my attention...it was a more ambitious idea that wants OSP to be more related by and updated with international debates, for example on environmental topics....her daughter also had a strong interest in the ecological issue applied at the neighbourhood and local level.... it was very unfortunate when she left at the end of the year as a space was open for her project in the development plan...this generated a general malaise that could have affected its reach."

"It has been a very positive surprise, I've been told that these Ecobarrios dynamics have been maintained in the different neighbourhoods of the city...the adoption of the programme's title is interesting when there are issues of illegitimacy and illegality such as in the case of San Cristóbal Sur that I've been told about...it is interesting that they declare themselves guardians of the hills as part of resistance practices as Michael DeCerteau calls them.... Ecobarrio is a good concept within itself as it isn't too complex like the public space initiative..."

ANNEX 5

Excerpts of the ethnographic interview conducted with Dr. Isabel Londoño on 19/06/12. I divided the transcript in accordance with the areas of interest for my thesis.

The Ecobarrios hybrid approach (discursive)

"I inherited OSP because I have been a teacher for 20 years and have a PHD in education from Harvard...the first thing I asked myself was what are the pedagogical results of OSP? And when I went to look at this through the research I did, I realized that on occasions it involved very concrete things that perhaps didn't amount to much...this was what made me decide to get rid of OSP which meant creating a new programme to give new hope to people...but I knew I had to be very careful with what my programme teaches people...so I first thought about what I want people to learn and later looked for a programme that helped me teach people to plan..."

"Ecobarrios was based on a integrated comprehension of development as something complex and not unidirectional...Ecobarrios was a trick to learn to plan...it was a game, a micro-planning process with a challenge...the idea was that people feel that they are being heard, assisted and that people understood that a good neighbourhood wasn't just cement, but something more, how to empower themselves and the community...for this reason people were trained...women, children, adults, handicapped, minorities....with neighbourhood planning workshops."

My doctoral thesis was on pedagogical balance, what people learn when there is a decentralization process...this is why I fell in love with Ecobarrios because it was integrated, it forced people to prioritize and intervene in multiple and simultaneous ways"

"An Ecobarrio is a neighbourhood in Bogotá where the JAC has adopted an intervention strategy that is supported by Communal Action public resources, that is integrated and not only impacts economically but physically --environmental, social and spiritual...and for this reason it is a neighbourhood that has learned to prioritize and understand development as something complex and not unidirectional, and has learned to find complex solutions and intervene in a multiple and distinct way in each community..."

"Ecobarrios was a programme to help neighbourhoods learn to carry out urban planning in order to move towards a Ecobarrios based on several principles..."

"...People couldn't just enter into Ecobarrios but needed to take a course that taught them how to do the Ecobarrios project...it was basically a neighbourhood planning course that was going to give people the capacities to plan a neighbourhood...the idea was to empower them to be able to implement the selected programmes...my goal was also to increase female participation and we were able to increase the number of women elected as President of their JACs"

Place-based eco-political subjects and identities

"We wanted to train individual and collective political subjects...that generate an inclusive identity...with a gender equality perspective and taking into account people of all ages... using a different approach that asked them, what are the needs of the natives to this neighbourhood? What do children need? The adults?... this was a different way of valuing diversity...Colombians don't know how to live in a community and don't know how to support each other and the idea was to promote these types of values..."

"the idea was that these people developed an integrated identity, that they stopped identify with the cement and that identified themselves with their entire community, not just the ecological part... broadening the sense of community....but this also had to be done at the micro-level, from the neighbourhood...."

ANNEX 6

Excerpts from the ethnographic interview conducted with Dr. Clemencia Escallón on 03/12/12.

"When I arrived to DAACD I wasn't in agreement with the way the Ecobarrios project had been formulated...Ecobarrios was a programme that included programmes that had done in Bogotá from Communal Action and others institutions that dealt with cultural and productivity issues and a bit with public space...because it also competed with OSP for resources...beyond that I arrived in a very tense moment for DAACD, they had let go of several people and there was a danger that it would close...so truthfully it wasn't easy...it was a very complex institutional scenario...I had also worked in OSP, I took part in the first planning phase...I loved that programme....it was focused on the construction of citizenry.."

"Ecobarrio had an overtone of autonomy for sustainability...that can generate an infrastructure that is self-sustainable and self-sufficient in terms of services...the neighbourhood scale was difficult to manage as it was no longer the most relevant unit to manage...the biggest discrepancy I had with Ecobarrios was that I had worked four years at the zone level in order to include it as a planning instrument and pass it to the POT...until finally we did it..."

ANNEX 7

Excerpts from the ethnographic interview conducted with Father Leonel Narváez on 22/08/12. I divided the transcript in accordance with the areas of interest for my thesis.

The Ecobarrios hybrid approach (discursive)

" There is a principle that we shared with Mockus and that is that cities are constructed from the inside...and this is in order to talk about how culture has a powerful impact on the transformation of a city... from the JACs we began to dream of constructing a proposal that shared some of these ideas and it was through cultural education that we could transform the city...we were moved by the ecological issue related with the Ecobarrios and eco-village global issues and we began to design what would become the proposal's fundamental components...our symbol was the dragonfly which has 4 wings, if a dragonfly loses a wing it can't fly because it is unbalanced...Ecobarrio I would define as a minimal component of holistic development."

Ecological dimension

"Carlos and Ana believed that the ecological aspect was very important... I would say firstly that an external ecology is an ecology of the soul, an ecology of the spirit, how to live healthy...so while we look at the desertification that we are causing with deforestation we don't notice that with anger, resentment and vengeance, we are deforesting each other....and that ecology of the soul seems to me to be more important than the external ecology without denying it..."

"Ecology comes from a Greek word Oikos that means home...Ecology means to live well in your home and take care of it...the problem is that this doesn't happen equally with the ecology of the soul and particularly when a person holds anger and resentment their body is poisoned and this greatly affects their health in every aspect, not just the physical...the issue of resentment and anger has catastrophic consequences on people...and this is a destroyed ecology...without a doubt we have to work on achieving an external ecology but if we don't take into account the internal ecology, an internal harmony is worthless...this should be passed over to the education in order to transform the perverse education that we have that only teaches us to exploit the planet in order to exploit each other.... "

Spiritual dimension – place based eco- political subjects and identities

"We had included a spiritual dimension in Ecobarrios...I think that it wasn't the most appropriate word...I think maybe sacred was the most appropriate word... I might use the issue of peaceful coexistence, the issue of peace in that dimension....one of the problems that has the most impact on the development of cities is the issue of security...so we wanted to work on the issue of peaceful coexistence...also because at that time Bogotá had around 1700 JACs and 700 of them reported problems with peaceful coexistence and illegality problems...this showed us that even the basic government entities had severe problems including corruption...so we strengthened Ecobarrios within the JACs...in the area of peaceful coexistence that we call spiritual we began to train 200 leaders from around 50 JACs on a proposal that at that time was called ESPERE... this was motivated by other rates of violence in Bogotá...so the idea was how to generate a culture of deconstruction of the enemy in the style of Derrida...today after ten years we have people working on this...this has generated a proposal that is about to become a national proposal called Reconciliation Centres that is about converting neighbourhoods and JACs into centres of peaceful coexistence and reconciliation...and in this way rebuild the human and social fabric..."

ANNEX 8

Excerpts of the ethnographic interview conducted with Alina Choperera on 07/01/13. I divided the transcript in accordance with the areas of interest for my thesis.

The Ecobarrios hybrid approach (discursive)

"An Ecobarrio is a geographic unit where the people who reside there can find all they need for their subsistence, a recreational area such as parks and green zones, a way of socializing in these same parks, where there is a cinema, a supermarket, a church...it is a combination of everything, of all of the dimensions, aiming to find balance..."

"The idea was to apply a guided participatory planning, at that time the participatory methodology consisted of people prioritizing what they wanted...I personally recommend a representative participation more because it is very difficult to get the entire world to agree..."

"I also do believe in the importance of institutions and state influence...because it is in charge of placing rules, of normalizing and we do need that..."

"Social capital is to encourage people to get to know each other more, strengthen JACs that do aim for a more representative participation that believes in leaders and generates social fabric..."

"I started with the social part...and although I don't have the theoretical part, this is why I went to the Externado University and the British Council in order to ask for advice on this...Carlos was the idealist that I had dream of, I was the one that put the practice part, the numbers side...here I applied the idea that planning must be done with what is available...with the social part that aims to improve social relationships in the neighbourhood, increase the social fabric...strengthen the relationships between institutions and the CBOs...the work with the JACs was key for this reason...."

"With the economic dimension we helped them to become micro-businessmen and generate business...also thinking about the programme's cost-benefit aspects which I think was good for them and productivity in the city..."

Ecological dimension

"Ecology is not just about what is green...it is about respecting my body, respecting neighbours, not just about eating vegetables and meditating...ecology is finding a balance with yourself, the environment, relationships...growing ourselves...it is easier to blame someone else...but we have to assume our responsibility...this also implies focusing on human capital..."

Spiritual dimension – place based eco- political subjects and identities

"the spiritual part is the confluence of everything..."

"The programme aims to promote the construction of participative citizenry that is active, responsible and informed..."

ANNEX 9

Excerpts of Ana María Aristizabal's life story

"My mother has had a big influence on my life... My mom was a teacher and the issue of education has shaped my life...Due to this appetite for learning I began reading and teaching myself that there wasn't just rational learning but also spiritual, psychological, artistic...I never knew what I was going to do when I grew up, I only wondered if I would find something that addressed all of the issues that interested me...in fact I feel that I never could be a person with just one identity...

On the other hand, since I studied in the French School I didn't have a real understanding of the Colombian reality. My image was very biased and influenced by the news and due to this I thought that I didn't want to become involved in a paradigm that made me part of the problem and so much negativity, I wanted to distance myself in order to create something different.

At 14 I received a book called women for sustainable development and I asked my mom what sustainable development is...I can't remember what she responded but I do remember that I was very interested.

My loneliness probably caused me to develop an insatiable curiosity because I'm the only daughter for my mom and my mom separated from my father when I was two...I sought to fill these gaps with my multiple interests, science, arts, spirituality and even the body. I did a scientific baccalaureate (focused on biology) while in the afternoons and evenings I did theatre, played piano, sang in a chorus, did yoga, meditation, martial arts and read on mythology, spirituality and personal growth. I very much grew up as a city person as we didn't have a farm to go to on the weekends or on vacations, so I had little contact with nature.

When I was a teenager I read "The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People", a book on personal development and I learned the paradigm concept. So due to this when an important mentor of mine, Rodrigo Escobar Navia, referred to this paradigm shift in 1995 in order to describe the change that was going to occur over the next few years, I paid attention.

I felt the call to participate as an agent of change working towards this paradigm, understanding Colombia from a positive perspective, for example biodiversity. I decided to study biology, beginning in University of Los Andes. The approach and environment of this University wasn't appropriate from this type of research as I was more interested in biology, the biomimetical perspective, as biology as life's teacher, a more philosophical perspective.

Due to this and other strong experiences that I had in my life, specifically in a relationship, I ended up in an all-girl's college, Mount Holyoke College, where I studied environmental studies and that used an ecological thought as philosophy. What I didn't imagine and only now understand was how to live the community spirit present in this college that made me flourish. This is where I experienced firsthand the power of a community and friendship and of also having a spiritual awakening and femininity process that transformed my life forever. This is where I began to develop a community identity, which would later influence my relationship with the eco-villages and Ecobarrios that in the end are a community living proposal.

Alongside my spiritual explorations, I also had the concern for the ecological paradigm shift, because even though I have always been very spiritual I have also used more technical practices, in fact this is why I did an MBA...today due to the coaching that I am dedicated to

I have been able to integrate everything. But well at that time I began by visualizing Colombia as a model of sustainable development, based on the protection of biodiversity by promoting a green economy, providing benefits for sectors such as eco-tourism.

This local thinking led me to ask myself how sustainable development can really be lived in day-to day life. I met Steven Hall an architect from the Bahai Religion. He is a very spiritual and interesting person who introduced me to the eco-village idea. My direct experience was with the Sirius Community that was at least two hours away from the University.

This visit to this eco-village woke something up deep inside of me. It touched every aspect of my being. One of the things that had a tremendous impact on me was how the eco-villages manage spirituality and how they apply it in the here and now of our day-to day lives. I saw in these eco-villages a holistic and integrated option in terms of reconfiguring the form in which we live that could lead us to a transition to a new paradigm, a new way of seeing reality.

The synchronicities guided me. At that time a book was published on Gaviotas, an ecological village in eastern Colombia. The book was called "Gaviotas: A Village to Reinvent the World" by Alan Weisman who came to give a presentation on it in a nearby university. Tying up loose ends I wanted this eco-village concept to become widespread in Colombia and the world as a catalyst for changing the paradigm and as a solution to a system that has little solidarity and with a sense of internal unease that isn't perceived as only mine.

This was when I visited the urban eco-village in Los Angeles led by Lois Arkin that is still going and that was where a clicked happen as I come from the city and also learning that the greater part of the world's population lives in cities we had to create a solution for cities. I did a case study on this and this gave birth to my graduate thesis called "Challenges and opportunities for an urban eco-village in Bogotá, Colombia". The idea at that time was to think about an urban eco-village in a third world country, in a city like Bogotá that will inspire many people as had happened with me. My mother was an important interlocutor that helped me to think about the process.

The thesis was advised by Rutherford Platt from the University of Massachusetts who led the "Ecological Cities Project, a multidisciplinary, multi-sectorial and multi-geographical dialogue on managing urban ecosystems". The other was Tim Millet who was an environmental planner. At this moment I was influenced by some spiritual ecology ways of thinking and I was able to explore these and other approaches such as deep democracy that is a horizontal and participatory model, however it is important that there is leadership from certain people, the systemic thought and integrated theory during and after Ecobarrios...

I used Ecobarrios in my thesis as a model of holistic development at the neighbourhood level that united with others would begin to shape a real ecological city. Ecobarrios represents an alternative to socio-economic and eco-spiritual development within a city, basing itself on the neighbourhood level that helps build a community social fabric conducive to collective creation. Ecobarrios was focused on training community leaders and accompanying neighbourhoods in formulation their neighbourhood development plans and later in the implementation of a prioritized project in the framework of the plan that responds to the needs in an integrated way, including social, ecological, economic and spiritual aspects.

After my mother assumed leadership of DAACD I decided to implement Ecobarrios. I introduced Carlos to my mother but I hadn't even met him in person. It was Ximena Samper who introduced me to him.

I returned and Carlos was already working with my mother. I arrived and saw what he had started to do with the concept and programme and it impacted me, he is a brilliant guy and understand and completely appropriated it as he was also connected to all of this. This is how I became involved with Ecobarrios ad honorem from September to December 2001 for reasons of nepotism. I was very involved in everything for example in training neighbourhood leaders, I also organized an International Ecobarrios Forum. I also did seminars in DAACD on Ecobarrios, their philosophy, background...and it was amazing to see how people, the leaders and myself were inspired by all of this and appropriated it...my role in many ways was to inspire people and show that things could be done.

We also visualized and dreamed of Ecobarrios that serves as a buffer to the pressure of urbanization on the edges of the city, maintaining the integrity of their ecosystems...we imagined Ecobarrios to be a local to global articulating axis, committed to solving problems such as climate change and the loss of biodiversity.

An Ecobarrio is an integrated development proposal, a new way of inhabiting the planet based on eco-villages that includes the four dimensions, the physical-environmental , economic, social, cultural and spiritual issues that later become human because sadly confusion was generated with this term, but the idea is that there is an interior part to human beings. Ecobarrios was an initiative to generate ecological cities. When my mother arrived to DAACD she combined previous programmes and put them under the Ecobarrios umbrella. Ecobarrios was well received as it was able to link isolated actions in an integrated way, which also would help people to think in a more integrated way.

Amongst the most interesting things was that with little resources available to us we were able to plant in people a new way of seeing and living in their neighbourhoods...a new dream and I believe that was the most important impact Ecobarrios had. This also generated social fabric and collaboration between neighbourhoods through the links that they wove with neighbourhood leaders.

Ecobarrios was a participatory proposal with nothing imposed and aimed to invite people to contemplate the option of changing, of creating a new reality voluntarily.

With respect to the name, it was an adaptation I made to the urban eco-village because in order to revise it at that time I didn't find anything that was eco-neighbourhood or something along those lines so I decided to abbreviate it and put Ecobarrio. The idea then was to carry this out neighbourhood by neighbourhood in order to later transfer it to the city level and for this reason the issue of neighbourhood scale was key. This implied a philosophy of how to inhabit and construct a home more so in this case from a systemic-organic approach in which nature is not thought of as something external and distant to us.

On the other hand, we were clear that we wanted to train a few neighbourhood leaders, empower some leaders so that they promoted the individual and collective process, using a bottom-up approach. The methodology was to inspire them and introduce them to a new life philosophy in which ecological and spiritual issues were important, to think creatively, make proposals, to be co-creators of their environment in order to break that welfare and dualist mentality. Showing them that development has to be holistic in order to be sustainable.

The idea was also to invite them to develop an identity with an ecological conscious, a way of life based on respect, love and solidarity, not only between humans but all forms of life. We know that activating these processes takes a long time because in order to generate a change in mentality it is necessary for the process to be sustained for time. A process that also respects local, traditional and cultural knowledge. We also knew that this would be difficult if there wasn't continuity in the public policies and for this reason before Ecobarrios

ended I proposed that a programme like this mustn't be implemented by the government but by an NGO.

The resources and activities depended on the people, they were free to chose but I did have ideas of how that could materialize for example with urban gardens, recycling, planting trees, saving water and electricity, green belt, green roofs, green walls. It was clear that I had a desire for a physical transformation of the setting, in the way of inhabiting cities.”

ANNEX 10

Excerpts from Carlos Rojas' life story

"Since I was a child I have always been very connected to nature...I spent a lot of my childhood with my aunts and uncles who were nature lovers

...but there is also something inherent in me as when I went to school I was the very shy kid. Between the ages of 11 and 15 I remember writing that I felt that the walls of my school were cold and dead but when I went to the forest and made a house with sticks I felt that it was made from myself...this was one of the most important times of my life because I was really looking for something but at the same time I was completely surrounded by this other world in a Jesuit school with no green areas, the entire school was brick...my soul wanted something different...at that time in my life they also began teaching me the values of Jesus and I thought they were wonderful because it is a person that gave his life for love and they speak of a person that is not obeying neither status quo of his time but obeys a deeper law of love, of giving, of genuineness and that seemed fantastic to me and I felt that I really wanted to be like that, but when I began to be genuine they kicked me out of school and when I began to question they thought that was too rebellious and they kicked me out and I felt very sad.

.... that was a very important moment for me because I understand that not swallowing whole, that questioning and not being in agreement with an incoherent institution is exactly what must be done...and maybe this issue of coherence has always been very important as the coherence and ethics of people is what matters deep down...

I studied architecture and a few things happened that were very important for me later in life. I was able to study land technologies with a professor that had arrived from France, I was able then to take a summer course in the department of Quindío in order to study bamboo construction, I was also able to go to the department of Choco, to the Atrato River, into the jungle to live in an afro-descendant community in order to help them build houses or whatever they needed. This was paradise for me and I returned to Bogotá with the feeling that I was no longer a city person but that I belonged to the jungle....that trip change my way of looking at material things and my relationship with the world.

In my thesis I tried to question myself on these issues and this is how I arrived to the argument of seeing the relationship between humans and nature from a spiritual perspective. This is how I ended up studying community planning in a master's programme in Cincinnati.

I had learned in university that humanity has two fundamental questions and I was interested in exploring them: 1) How do we acquire knowledge; 2) what is the relationship of humans with nature and how does this relationship define our survival as a species. So I created a thesis that allowed me to devour all of these books and I associated it with Bogotá.

...when you understand that there is a spiritual reality it helps you understand that you are not responsible for everything that happens to you.

I didn't become spiritual through enlightenment nor did I have any revelation, it was because I understand through reason and my artistic intuition that it is one of the most beneficial and healthy ways of thinking for the human psyche because it teaches and asks for humility, it explains and teaches you that you are nothing, that you are neither so responsible nor so to blame for the things that happen.

After my master's thesis it was clear to me that I wanted to return to Colombia in order to contribute. Then a friend introduced me to Ana and she introduced me to Isabel who told me about Ecobarrios and I said well my dream at the moment is to return to Colombia to work in a project with the community and ecology. I put my heart into this project and I had a very good understanding with Ana, but perhaps today I would do things differently, without hurting egos, but at that time I arrived as a novice and I wanted to change the world.

In terms of Ecobarrios, the fact that it was implemented during the second term of Mockus influenced a lot because during the terms of Peñalosa and Mockus a period of renovation had begun and people were getting used to the changes and innovations. The institutions were overhauled with technocrats and the climate had slightly become one of political favouritism, which was good on one hand, but the technocrats were too technical and never understood what Ecobarrios was proposing. They were a little rigid in their way of seeing things.

However, in terms of the ecological issue, in the case of Peñalosa, his city model was seen as one that laid down a lot of cement and was expansionist while Mockus although he was concerned with organizational issues and prioritizing investment, he maintained the same cement paving characteristics of Peñalosa. Both, more Peñalosa than Mockus, were influenced by these neoliberal market ideas. It was really the Minister of the Environment that issued an "order to stop" and told them they can't expand the city further, that they have to make an ecological city, compact, sustainable within the limits that we set.

Ecobarrios was one of the objectives of the government plan of civic culture, that was a key element of the Mockus administration but not directed linked with an urban planning operation or territorial intervention. If we would have had a Mayor that would have been aware of what Ecobarrios was and the Mayor would have harmonized it with the other organizations, it would have been an invaluable project. But that is an issue of planning in Bogotá, the philosophies of programmes are developed by the creators but not the Mayor, the Mayor includes them into government plans but behind that there are diverse political agendas that often contradict each other. In the case of Mockus we never really knew if he was neoliberal or bioregional/communitarian focused not on the individual or a spiritual relationship with nature. I believe Ecobarrios at that time was the first public programme in the history of Bogotá that raised the idea that it is not only a force for individual and collective wellbeing but is loving nature or respecting natural resources for their intrinsic value, that is the vision of deep ecology or bioregionalism and not neoliberal or market ways of thinking. Bioregionalism tries to recover the local culture, the traditions of the place, the spiritual relationship with the territory and the idea that through this bioregional vision of Bogotá many things in the city's planning would change.

The idea of Ecobarrios as well was to distance ourselves from "the paradigm of success", where neoliberalism is the manifestation of this paradigm, that only aims for personal success, without tolerating failure, hence very little can be done in order to achieve local development from the base. The idea then was to pass over to what has been called "the paradigm of care" that involves a more spiritual vision of life in which we are concerned for our own care but also for other living beings. This is why Ecobarrios aimed to generate a personal and community consciousness and empowering the entire city and people regardless of their strata. At the JAC level the aim then was not only to focus on infrastructure projects but also help them understand that community development really went further than that, that it involved spiritual, social, ecological and other issues.

In terms of the issue of the market and success paradigm it is interesting to see the argument that these ideas of competency are good because they are natural and because nature competes, because in nature the strongest reproduce and not the weakest and this is good for the species. But we have misunderstood nature. In nature no one wins, species

adapt to their situation, it is an issue of intelligent adaptation that aims to protect life. So those that invented capitalism really had a vision of nature that was very distant from the reality, different to many other cultures that have analysed nature with care such as in the east. They have understood that all living beings have a spirit, nature has its spirit and we have to have a relationship with it and ask permission for example. Modernity has ignored this spiritual being, passed over it and in the same way nature returns many things to human beings because there is no balance. Our ancestors taught us that there is a ritual and spiritual dimension that is very important and modernity arrived and told us that this is sorcery and everything depends on the ego and humanity disconnected from nature and its spiritual dimension.

It is important to also understand that for us ecology depended on the context, it is not as if there is an ecological formula, for example that idea that solar panels are good in every case and are sustainable isn't true, in Japan it is applicable, here no. Nothing ecological is universally ecological, it depends on each ecosystem and culture, for that reason permaculture is also key.

The spiritual dimension and later the human dimension were associated with the world vision, this is why it was necessary to work on the transcendent, the deep meaning, on the inner force/being in human beings, work on the invisible collective glue that can unite people and practically it is working on relationships between living beings. This is how you start working on the inner being as this is expressed and exercised in how you relate with other living beings, what deep ecology talks about. The idea then is to be more conscious, consciousness is how in the present moment I can perceive my light, my shadow, my spirit and my ego, my gifts, my limitations, see them, accept them and work with them, which leads you to a feeling of humility, of understanding that we can't do anything alone, we need the community as a mirror and for all living beings.

Ecobarrios was a programme that gave new meaning to the individual and the community, opening a space to exercise the right to trust, cooperation, participation, closeness, familiarity, ritualization and the connection with the territory and with all living beings. It was also an opportunity to reinterpret the spiritual or transcendent essence of places and re-establish a ritual relationship with the territory.

Ecobarrios made a proposal to community leaders to transform themselves into agents of a new development (involving a paradigm shift), a community development based on searching for harmony with nature, simultaneously taking into account the environmental, economic, social and spiritual dimensions. An Ecobarrio would be defined as a small-scale urban community in which the relationship of human beings with themselves and nature is based on care, deep awareness and harmony.

So it is clear that the original idea of the programme was disconnected from thinking influenced by neoliberal, market, modern and industrial paradigms. Obviously applying all of this within an institutional logic was very difficult because there were very few who understand everything... but at the end, I had the idea that as a government we mustn't impose anything but facilitate what people need, create the necessities. An issue was for example that Mockus is an excellent academic but was trained in the western rationale distant from all of these issues as well as other public officials that I worked with at that time, so on that side it wasn't easy either because they didn't understand what we were talking about.

Neighbourhood scale suggested a work of returning to the immediate community, to the tribe and the universe of possibilities of urban ways of living that can recover the sense of extended family that takes care of a territory and connects emotionally around a life space that people truly appropriate.

After the government suspended economic support to Ecobarrios, Ana and I delved deeper in a community creation experience with many other people in the eco-village Aldeafeliz (Happy-Village) near Bogotá and we participated in the creation of a Colombian Eco-Village Network and the Sustainable Village Network of the Americas. This was an experience that helped us realize that there are no formulas for sustainability nor for Ecobarrios, the important thing is the change in consciousness and takes into account the particularities of the context.

ANNEX 11

Primary and Secondary Sources for Lombardía neighbourhood

Sources IDPAC

- Pictures Ecobarrios projects
- Reports of Ecobarrios programme per dimension- Budget reports per dimension.
- Projects with the community in order to create sense of belonging.
- Micro-enterprise project in green zones: clean and green Lombardía in order to produce more.
- Park Project: physical – environmental and social dimension.
- Green leaders Project.
- Agreement between DAACD and Lombardía JAC for Ecobarrios programme.
- Lombardía development plan.
- Carlos Rojas reports of activities for DAACD related with Ecobarrios programme.

Sources Suba local mayor

- UPZ maps
- Diagnosis of the physical, demographic and socio-economic aspects of Suba Locality (2004, 2009, 2010, 2011).
- Local diagnosis of culture, art and heritage, Suba locality.
- Economic and entrepreneurial profile, Suba locality.
- Environmental Agenda, Suba locality.
- Document Bogotá city of statistics.

Sources JAC Lombardía

- Report nutrition workshop – Ecobarrios .
- Report wellbeing, women and family workshop – Ecobarrios .
- Report ESPERE
- Report about the workshops: training JAC leaders.
- Report micro-enterprise workshop.
- Reports about sport, social and cultural activities
- Project for the creation of a cultural centre for young and children in order to integrate the community.
- Project recovery of Lombardía park in order to live in harmony.
- Documents about the participation of the community and JACs in Ecobarrios programme.
- Economic, physical, environmental and social characterization of the neighbourhood.
- JAC meeting minutes about Ecobarrios programme.
- Pictures integration workshops, park project, cooking project, activities with elderly, rubbish collection, recycling.
- JAC contracts for the diverse workshops.
- Flyers and stickers related with the sense of belonging project.
- Articles in the locality newspaper related with rubbish collection and recycling campaigns developed as part of the strengthen of civic culture. This also in order to develop a sense of belonging and social transformation in Lombardía.
- List with Ecobarrios programme projects.
- Bitácora: guide in order to build an Ecobarrio (institutional document)
- Neighbourhood development plan.
- Project of the physical – environmental dimension.
- Project: Corporation of services Lombardía in Action LOMENAC

Sources Lombardía residents - community

- Documents about urban agriculture that were part of the workshops.
- Strategic plan of neighbourhood development 2009 – 2012.
- Document ESPERE and notes from the training about ESPERE.

ANNEX 12

Interviewed residents – Community Phase, Ecobarrios Programme

Name	Role
1. Viviana	She was part of Ecobarrios programme (ESPERE – spiritual dimension)
2. Angela	She was part of Ecobarrios programme (urban agriculture)
3. Martha	She started to be part of the recycling group (that was an Ecobarrios initiative) since 2007.
4. Adriana	Ecobarrios – recycling group until today
5. Gustavo	He started to be part of urban agriculture activities since 2007
6. Angelina	Ecobarrios – urban agriculture until today
7. Carlos	Current JAC president
8. Carlos	Member of the current JAC
9. Jaime	Vice-president JAC
10. Germán	Ecobarrios – ESPERE – spiritual dimensión
11. Emilia	Ecobarrios (different activities)
12. Gloria	Ecobarrios – ESPERE – spiritual dimensión
13. Luz Karime	Ecobarrios – cultural and environmental dimensión – Green leaders programmeme (young)
14. Lisinia	Ecobarrios – economic dimensión – recycled objects (crafts – houses, jewelry etc)
15. Teresa	Ecobarrios – ESPERE – spiritual dimensión
16. Olimpia	Ecobarrios – ESPERE – spiritual dimensión
17. Carlos	Ecobarrios – economic dimensión - urban agricultura
18. Janeth	Urban agriculture after Ecobarrios
19. Daniela	Ecobarrios – cultural and environmental dimensión (young)
20. Tatiana	Ecobarrios – cultural and environmental dimensión (young)
21. Alejandro	Ecobarrios – urban agriculture until today

ANNEX 13

Ethnographic observation matrix - Lombardía and San Cristóbal

Thematic Axis	Ethnographic Questions
I. Ecobarrios Programme (definition, discourses, representations and perceptions) Lombardía and Triángulo	1) How they define Ecobarrios? 1.1) Which are the keywords (discursive categories) that they used in order to refer to Ecobarrios? 2) Do they consider that the implementation of this programme was good for their neighbourhoods and their residents? Why? (in terms of the community, relations, places, nature/ environment etc) 2.1) What was the thing they like the most of the programme? 3) What was the negative aspect (or aspects) of Ecobarrios? 3.1) What was the thing they like the least of the programme? 4) How was the neighbourhood before Ecobarrios? 5) Do the neighbourhood changed with the programme? If yes, how? (places and their uses, activities – collective and individual -, city, nature and environment conceptions, creation of new organizations: groups, cooperatives, JACs etc)
II. Ecobarrios and OSP - Lombardía	1) The residents of this neighbourhood were part of OSP? 2) What do they think about OSP? 3) What are the differences between OSP and Ecobarrios?
III. Ecobarrios – Subjects, subjectivities, individual, community, leaders, JAC presidents, Lombardía and Triángulo	1) Did they learn something from Ecobarrios at a personal level? What they applied in their lives? 2) Ecobarrios allowed them to strengthen their community links? If yes or no, Why? 3) Do they consider that Ecobarrios generated changes in social relations? 4) How are the power relations within the community? Do they change with Ecobarrios? 5) What do you think about the role of the community leaders and/or JAC presidents in this process? It was important?
IV. Ecobarrios spaces, places and practices – Lombardía and Triángulo	1) It is possible to talk about physical places of Ecobarrios? 2) New places were created with Ecobarrios? Or the oldest ones were transformed in places for Ecobarrios? Or both? 3) If yes which ones? And why? 4) It is possible to talk about Ecobarrios activities? 5) If yes, which ones?
V. Ecobarrios and Identity - Lombardía and Triángulo	1) There is something in common between the people that live in a Ecobarrio? 2) There is something in particular that identified people with an Ecobarrio?
VI. Case study – Neighbourhood story - Lombardía and Triángulo	1) Who live in the neighbourhood? 2) Where they come from? 3) For how long they have been living there? 4) How and where their parents lived?

	<p>5) What they do? Do they have a job?</p> <p>6) Why the neighbourhood has that name?</p> <p>7) Since when this neighbourhood exists?; How it was built?; Who were their first inhabitants?</p> <p>8) Which are the neighbour neighbourhoods?</p> <p>9) How you define the location of your neighbourhood within the city?</p> <p>10) To which socio-economic strata does your neighbourhood belongs to?</p> <p>11) Which are the important places of the neighbourhood?</p> <p>12) Which are the places of the neighbourhood that you dont like? why?</p> <p>13) Which are the characteristic sounds of your neighbourhood?</p> <p>14) Which are the characteristic smells of your neighbourhood?</p> <p>15) Can you tell me the story of your neighbourhood?</p> <p>16) How is the issue of land ownership in your neighbourhood?</p> <p>17) What type of relationship has had your neighbourhood with the district institutions?</p> <p>18) Which are the most important moments (good or bad) of the history of your neighbourhood and why?</p> <p>19) How is the daily life in your neighbourhood during the week and weekends? What type of activities do you develop?</p> <p>20) What are the type of jobs that the people from your neighbourhood have?</p> <p>21) What type of economic activities are developed in your neighbourhood?</p> <p>22) Who are the main characters in your neighbourhood?</p> <p>23) Do you have any type of associations, groups or organizations in your neighbourhood?</p> <p>24) How is the relationship of the people from your neighbourhood with people from other neighbourhoods?</p>
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ANNEX 14

Primary and Secondary Sources Triángulo Bajo, Triángulo Alto, Manantial and Corinto neighbourhoods

Sources of the Local Mayor of San Cristóbal

- Locality maps.
- Books about the locality and the Eastern Hills.
- Socio-economic diagnosis of the locality.

Sources of the Documentation and Information Centre of San Cristóbal Locality

- Books about the locality and the Eastern Hills.

Sources of the Documentation and Information Centre of San Cristóbal Hospital

- Local diagnosis with social participation (from 2009 until 2012)

Sources of the Files of the inhabitants of Manantial, Triángulo Bajo and Triángulo Alto.

- Locality maps and from Triángulo.
- Pictures of the territory through time (since the beginning of the XX century)

ANNEX 15

Semi-structured interviews – Institutional phase – Triángulo territory

Name	Institution	Job
1. Ana Karina	Habitat Secretary	Environmental Advisor
2. Alice	CAR	Specialized profesional
3. Yenny	FOPAE	Specialized profesional
4. Catalina	Planning Secretary	Specialized profesional
5. Leonor	IDPAC	Secretary
6. Andrés Ramírez	Planning Secretary	Director
7. Liliana Rodríguez	San Cristobal Sur Local Mayor	Environmental Advisor
8. Esperanza Valcárcel	Habitat Secretary	Social Advisor
9. Andrea Bayona	San Cristóbal Hospital	Social Advisor
10. Duvan Hernandez	FOPAE	Technical Sub-Director
11. Rodrigo Valero	Archives Centre – San Cristobal Locality	Manager
12. Manuela	Popular Housing Office	Advisor resettlement office
13. Esteban	Popular Housing Office	Advisor resettlement office

ANNEX 16

Documents per Institution – San Cristobal Locality

CAR

- District decrees about the Eastern Hills.
- Management plan for the forest reserve zone of Bogotá.
- Environmental zoning map of the Eastern Hills.
- Geological map of the Eastern Hills.

FOPAE

- Risk zoning map Triángulo territory .
- Environmental Zoning maps Triángulo territory .

District Planning Secretary

- Eastern Hills Thesis.
- Threats and landslides maps of Manantial, Triángulo Alto, Bajo and Corinto.

Environmental District Secretary

- General diagnosis about the Eastern Hills.
- Environmental zoning map of the Eastern Hills.
- Decrees about the Eastern Hills.

Habitat Secretary

- Ecobarrios district proposal 2012

Sources Documentation and Information Centre of the Eastern Hills Round Table

- General diagnosis about the Eastern Hills.
- Master's thesis about the Eastern Hills.

ANNEX 17

Interviews and extended visits per neighbourhood in Triángulo

Interviews and extended visits Manantial

Name	Role	No. of Encounters
1. Hector	Community leader that created Ecobarrios strategy He has been involved in this since 2009 until today (2014)	10
2. Martha	Oldest inhabitant She has been involved since 2009 until 2014.	2
3. German	Young community leader He has been involved since 2009 until 2014	1
4. Adriana	Community leader Adult - She was part of this between 2009 and 2012	1
5. Andrés	Young - He was involved in ecobarrios cultural activities (2009 – 2012)	1
6. Camilo	Young - He was involved in Ecobarrios cultural activities (2009 – 2012)	1
7. Juan	Young - He was involved in ecobarrios cultural activities (2009 – 2012)	1
8. María	Young - She was involved in Ecobarrios cultural activities (2009 – 2012)	1
9. María paz	Elderly – She has been involved in Ecobarrios through Urban agriculture (2009 – 2014)	2
10. Joaquín	Elderly – he was part at the beginning (2009)	1
11. Amadeo	Elderly – He was part of Ecobarrios through Urban agriculture and the management of “green zones” (2009 – 2010)	1
12. Lilia	Adult – She knows about Ecobarrios since 2009 but she doesn’t believe in it.	1
13. Noé	Elderly – He knows about Ecobarrios since 2009 but she doesn’t believe in it.	1
14. Gilberto	Elderly – He was one of the members of the management team of Ecobarrios and also he was and is part of the Urban agriculture practices (2009 – 2014)	2
16. Alba	Adult – she doesn’t know about Ecobarrios	2
17. Adriana	Adult – Hectors wife, She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until today (2014). She is part of the group Women weaving peace which is part of	2

	Ecobarrios proposal.	
18. Nelson	Young – he was part of the cultural activities (2009 – 2010)	1
19. Sara	Child – she knew about Ecobarrio until 2012	2
20. Deisy	Child - she knew about Ecobarrio until 2012	1
21. John	Young – he was part of the cultural activities (2009 – 2011)	1
Total		35

Interviews and extended visits Triángulo bajo

Name	Role	No. of Encounters
1. Aristobulo	Adult – He just knows about Ecobarrios in 2012 – He was member of the Ecobarrios current group	1
2. Álvaro	Elderly – He is part of Ecobarrios since 2009 until today 2014.	1
3. Leonardo	One of the oldest inhabitants - JAC president – He wasn't involved in Ecobarrios until 2012.	2
4. Ascensión	Adult – She doesn't about Ecobarrios until 2012 when she started to be involved in the current group	1
5. Angie	Young - She doesn't about Ecobarrios until 2012 when she started to be involved in the current group	2
6. Rocio	Adult – she doesn't know about Ecobarrios until 2012	1
7. Cecilia	Elderly – She was part of Ecobarrios since 2009 through urban agriculture until 2011	1
8. Margarita	Adult – she doesn't support Ecobarrios strategy	1
Total		10

Interviews and extended visits Triángulo Alto

Name	Role	No. of Encounters
1. Rubén	Adult - JAC president (2009) – community leader – He was one of the creators of Ecobarrios and he was involved until 2011	1
2. José Exelino	Adult - JAC president (2012 – 2014) – He has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until today (2014)	1
3. Lida	Adult - Community leader – She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until today (2014)	1
4. Luz Beida	Adult – She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until	2

	today (2014)	
5. Flor	Elderly - has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until today (2014)	2
6. Ingrid	Young – She has been part of Ecobarrio since 2011	1
7. Norma	Adult - Community leader – She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2009 until today (2014)	1
8. Nepomuceno	Adult – He doesn't know anything about Ecobarrio	2
9. Rosalba	Adult - She doesn't know anything about Ecobarrio	1
10. Teresa	Adult – She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2012	1
11. Taurina	Adult – She has been involved in Ecobarrios since 2011 until today (2014)	1
12. Angelina	Adult - She knows about Ecobarrios since 2009	1
13. Estrella	Elderly - One of the oldest inhabitants – She knows about Ecobarrios since 2009	1
Total		16

Other Interviews and extended visits related with Ecobarrio in Triángulo

Name	Role	No. of Encounters
1. Marco Pedraza	Adult – Hectors friend from CINEP – part of the designed of Ecobarrios proposal	1
2. Amadeo Gómez	Adult – Ecocasa (Ecological House - Juan Rey) – urban agriculture and cultural activities	1
3. Marlen	Adult - Ecocasa (Ecological House - Juan Rey) – urban agricultura	1
4. Yorena Alicia Rico	Adult – Teacher of Triángulo school – part of Ecobarrios since 2011	2
Total		5

Table of total per Interviews and extended visits in Triángulo territory per neighbourhood

Neighbourhood	No. of people interviewed	No. of Encounters
1. Manantial	21	35
2. Triángulo bajo	8	10
3. Triángulo Alto	13	16
4. Otros	4	5
Total	46	66

ANNEX 18

Extensive Description of Bogotá Mapping Workshop

The workshop “Mapeando nuestro territorio para su defensa y la buena convivencia desde la perspectiva del riesgo y del Ecobarrio” (Mapping our territory for its defence and good communal living from the risk and Ecobarrio’s perspective) took place between 8th and 10th November 2012. This event was part of the DPU project or platform ‘**The Heuristics of Mapping Urban Environmental Change**’, by Fundación Erigaie, CIDER (by its initials in Spanish, Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies on Development) and the Development Planning Unit – DPU – UCL, whose objective is to refine the mapping conceptual and methodological approach by developing a heuristic process¹²⁵. Specifically, it was the first practical workshop in the second phase of Heuristics, Action learning Alliances.

Communities from Triángulo Bajo, Triángulo Alto and Manantial neighbourhoods designed the workshop with support from Monika Therrien, Martin Andrade, Carlos del Cairo and Tatiana Ome (Fundación Erigaie’s researchers) and Adriana Allen, Rita Lambert and Alexandre Frediani from the DPU. Inhabitants from this territory decided to map two aspects in particular: their perception of risk (to contrast it with the institutional perspective, from where their dwelling zone had been labelled as at high risk that cannot be mitigated); and their past, current and potential spaces for activities related to the Ecobarrio, such as urban agriculture, plot cleaning and clearing, recycling, among others.

With these objectives in mind and having the community invited functionaries from the FOPAE, the District Planning Secretary and geologist Orlando Navas (from Ingeominas), they implemented the event in the following manner. On the first day, inhabitants from these neighbourhoods presented their case to provide academia and institutional actors with some context and background information, also expressing their expectations from the participative mapping exercise (see photo 1). In this regard, it is noteworthy to underline that, in addition to those above mentioned and generating a space for better understanding their territory, one of the community’s main goals with this workshop was to take advantage of this process to strengthen social cohesion dynamics in the three neighbourhoods. Likewise, Catalina Silva from the District Planning Secretary gave a presentation on forest reserve area status, the adequation strip and urban perimeter, which also allowed for clarification of current circumstances of these neighbourhoods within the urban planning and POT framework.

Photo 1. Morning group session - day 1
Source: personal file Ome 2012



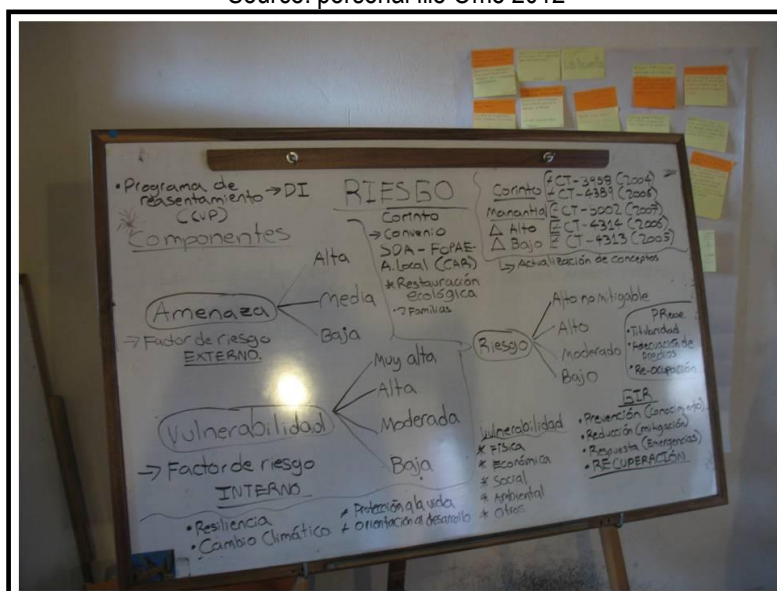
¹²⁵ Heuristics refers to the art of discovering and in this project to discovering through mapping.

Afterwards, led by the question what (past, current and potential) individual and collective practices make the hills habitable? Why?, participants were divided into three groups of neighbourhood inhabitants, academia and institutional actors. Each group was given a name by its members: “the orchard”, “the eco-friends” and “for a renowned Triángulo” and debated the issue so that at the end of the first afternoon session, they gave a presentation on their agreements. In general terms, it can be said that the three groups mentioned similar activities (or ways of living in the hills) such as fairs, religious processions, football matches, food crops, use of native plants for medicine, food or decoration, nature and water conservation (or the need for it) through tree planting, recuperation of native species, etc.; waste management and the need for activities and mechanisms (such as watchdog committees, etc.) to foster community union, communication, control and training, among others. All of these are associated with macro categories such as living together, social cohesion, memory, perception, and territory signification, among others.

Leidy Reyes, from FOPAE opened the second afternoon with a talk that allowed participants to achieve greater understanding of risk, its definition and assessment from the institutional perspective (see photo 2). Then, geologist Orlando Navas intervened to explain the area's geological conditions and their connection to risk and vulnerability issues.

Photo 2. FOPAE presentation – day 1

Source: personal file Ome 2012



To conclude the first day, participants considered the question: where are the practices previously identified located? There were four groups: past, present, future, and risk and vulnerability. The first three groups were in charge of locating the places/zones/or spaces where those practices were identifiable on the physical map in order to facilitate the following day's exercise (field trip)¹²⁶. The risk and vulnerability group was in charge of mapping those areas or risk elements as seen by the community (perception of risk), vulnerable areas and demolished or soon-to-be demolished building sites (see photo 3, 4, 5 and 6).

¹²⁶ It is worth noting that although groups were temporarily divided, we kept in mind that practices from the past are still in use or that past and present practices are likely to be used in the future; that is to say that these activities do not happen within a specific time frame but as every cultural process, they are always under construction and transformation.

Photo 3. Group 1: Past practices
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Photo 4. Group 2: Present practices
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Photo 5. Group: Future practices
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Photo 6. Group 4: risk and vulnerability
Source: personal file Ome 2012



On the second day, the field trip took place and although all participants (community, academia and institutional actors) did the itinerary together (see photo 7), they continued working in the same groups as the day before. About the transect it is important to say that the community decided to make a group transect in order to have a higher impact in the residents which were going to see them working together. Also they decided to include Corinto in the transect because although all the inhabitants were resettled it is part of their history as a territory.

The walk started on the “pavimentada” to go up through Triángulo Bajo, then Manantial, Corinto, the oblivion stone we will be (previously known as “quita sol”) and eventually Triángulo Alto. As they moved forward, each group had to record points of interest in their physical map using circular post-its and adding a written description, a photo and a video (see photo 8). It is worth noting that although the exercise was not carried out with the whole community, the Past’s map was completed with information provided by long-standing inhabitants who had even been born there (such as Don Leonardo and Doña Martha) which enriched this perspective. Likewise, this activity helped inhabitants to know details of their territory’s history (which many did not know) and also realise that they have different versions of it. The Present’s map shed light on neighbourhood problems and activities (such as orchards) of which they were not aware. Finally, the Future’s map and the Risk’s map counted on the geologist’s technical expertise which enabled them to assess feasibility of community’s proposals for the future and their perceptions of areas and elements at risk and their vulnerability.

Photo 7. Mapping in the field – day 2
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Photo 8. Groups mapping in the field
Source: personal file Ome 2012



The third day began with a meeting in groups to analyse the information gathered and think of concrete strategies and actors that would allow for continuity or implementation of mapped activities (as a management plan). Hence, the three layers of past, present and future overlapped generating discussions about the territory of the past and its memories, and connecting it with the aspirations associated to the territory for the future. Discussions generated unexpected outcomes; for instance, strategies such as “juntas vecinales” (neighbour committees) as management stations emerged from the risk map; the past map gave rise to a proposal to publish a book about the history of the territory taking into account their own narratives, and the future map suggested a proposal to work in partnership with institutions such as FOPAE, CAR, planning secretary aiming to raise funds and get training for the inhabitants (see photo 9).

Furthermore, it was agreed that there was need for a diagnosis and a socio-spatial census in order to establish who left, who wanted to stay or leave and how many lots remained unoccupied. The idea is to make unoccupied lots into communal spaces for collective activities such as the orchards, which would also help to prevent re-settlement of the hills. Many see this as a process under construction and they have a lot of dreams of what they would like to do.

In line with the geologist's recommendations, reforestation with bush and grassland species was proposed. Also, there was agreement that terraces in high risk areas could contribute to mitigating it but they cannot be inhabited. As part of community work, it was proposed to reform the road using a gravel layer and build channels for rainwater management using picks and shovels.

These discussions on past, present and future dwelling practices revealed values associated to the territory's **projection**, which in turn gave 'Ecobarrios' discourse a more particular meaning linked to the history, experience and aspirations of its residents.

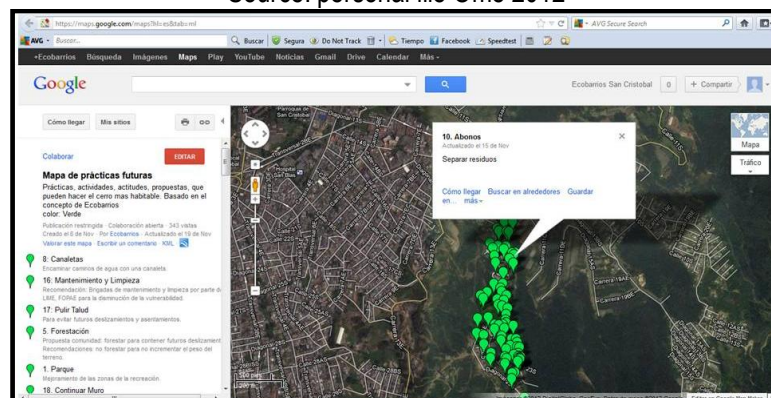
Photo 9. Groups Presentations – day 3
Source: personal file Ome 2012



Additionally, on the workshop's last day, with collaboration from Laura Pinzón (DPU graduate), Natalia Becerra (Fundación Erigaie researcher) and Andrés Vargas (CIDER researcher), participants started to record the information gathered in the 4 maps (risk, past, present and future practices) which were created on Google maps as part of the workshop's products (see photo 10). These achievements were shared with participants in order for them all to see results from three days of work, which would continue under construction. The community was expected to appropriate and continue with this process so that it could become a negotiation instrument when working with institutional entities.

Regarding maps, it is important to say that they preferred to have them at a neighbourhood scale rather than a UPZ scale. They justified this through a neighbourhood identity argument because they live their daily life at that scale.

Photo 10. Google map – Future practices
Source: personal file Ome 2012



As part of the final conclusions, we have the following: 1) a great achievement for social cohesion was to “get to have at the same table” leaders from the three neighbourhoods and at least some of the inhabitants. It allowed them to get to know each other, understand that they share ideas and issues and that they can work together in order to find solutions; 2) “sitting at the same table” also made their conflicts clear and they realised that they need to work on them in order to rebuild their social fabric and work together; 3) regarding perception of risk, the exercise allowed the community and institutions to become aware of what inhabitants know about their territory. Moreover, it was paramount to count on geologist's (Orlando Navas) technical knowledge since it helped to strengthen or not (with justification) many of the arguments that inhabitants have and it also enabled them to know

strategies that they can help mitigate risk in specific areas; 4) identification of past, present and future practices allowed inhabitants to visualise how Ecobarrio (or as they wish to call it later on) may serve them as alternative model to inhabit the hills, developing activities that will not only contribute to nature conservation and sustainable way of life, but also permit to mitigate risk; 5) with regard to information and map management, both the community and other actors agreed that inhabitants in the hills should organised themselves to do it; 6) this exercise also helped inhabitants become aware of the importance of memory as tool for social, cultural, and historical construction of their territory and its appropriation; 7) finally, the community considered important to think of holding a similar event in the future to monitor the process and assess importance of implementing this type of tools in their particular circumstances. These tools allowed them to generate counter arguments to official maps, producing a more differentiated physical risk categorisation within the area, demystifying the idea that all the territory is under high risk that cannot be mitigated and redefining risk through micro-zoning.

It is worth noting that after the workshop, meetings with the community have taken place to think of strategies that will allow them to organise information management (who will be in charge of keys, of reviewing maps, etc.) and group work. Also, these meetings served to share information on the workshop published by Adriana Allen, Rita Lambert and Alexandre Frediani on the DPU – UCL web page and the Google maps progress. The community were excited at having a concrete product to broadcast on such a massive medium as the Internet through “such pretty photos of our neighbourhood and videos featuring us” (See photo 11).

Photo 11. Website DPU – information on workshop
(<http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/mapping-environmental-change/dialogues-on-the-move/Bogotá>)
Source: personal file Ome 2012

